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THE FUNCTIONS OF SMALL-GROUP RESEARCH*

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Research in *small groups* has grown tremendously in recent years. A specialized bibliography (12) indicates that not fewer than three times per week are now being "produced" while from 1930 to 1939 a total of two hundred ten times were published in this field; in the four-year period from 1950 to 1953 roughly as many small-group studies have appeared as in the whole twenty-year span from 1930 to 1950. For the forty years from 1890 to 1929 as many items are listed as are now published during a single year.

A recent issue of the *American Sociological Review* (1) was in its entirety devoted to small-group studies; a collection of small-group papers has proved to be a scientific best seller; (2) another collection is about to be published. One is led to agree with the editor of the aforementioned special issue of the *American Sociological Review* that small-group research has experienced in recent years a "runaway growth."

Sociologists are wont to direct their attention to the rise of new social movements, fashions or cults which arise in the society at large, but they have been rather reluctant to direct their efforts at an examination of similar phenomena within their own discipline. Yet such an analysis would seem to be both scientifically profitable and critically important. A science which does not employ its research tools for a self-critical analysis of its own structure and functions lays itself open to justified reproach.

Sociologists have been eager to study the growth of religious movements and to link their rise to specified functions that they perform for their practitioners. It is our purpose in the following pages to study in a similar way the

rise of small-group analysis within the sociological discipline. For a sociologically sophisticated audience it should hardly be necessary to stress that analysis of such a movement in no way aims to throw light upon the validity of its findings. Just as the sociologist concerned with the analysis of religious phenomena is not making judgments as to the merits of specific religious views and attitudes, so the analyst of the rise of schools within a scientific discipline is not concerned with the validity of their results. Since small-group study claims to be part of the province of sociology, the validity of its findings should also come under the sociologists' scrutiny, but we are not concerned with this task here, important though it may be.

Small-group research has proceeded under the guidance of variant and divergent theoretical assumptions and it is fragmented into various "schools" which often seem to take little notice of each other. Under these conditions it is difficult to make valid generalizations about the whole "movement." We have therefore limited ourselves in the following to those small-group analysts who are primarily concerned with the laboratory study of small experimentally created groups. In order to further restrict our focus, we shall in the main be concerned with the contributions to the above-mentioned special issue of *The American Sociological Review*. It seems justified to concentrate on this publication since the editors of the official organ of the American Sociological Society apparently took these contributions to be representative of work of sociological interest now going on in the small-group field.

The functional analysis of an item requires the description of the activity involved as well as the description of the participants in structural terms so as to locate them in their interconnected social statuses (8, p. 56.).

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society held in New York City, April 2-3, 1953.

Small-group research, to judge from the recent issue of the *American Sociological Review* (1), consists essentially of the observational study of small experimentally created groups. Most of these studies are carried on in larger universities equipped with special laboratory facilities such as microphones, one-way vision screens, tape recorders, etc. Most of the studies reported are carried out with college or high-school students as subjects: of eleven experimental studies reported, seven had college or high-school groups as their subjects and an additional study used twelve year old boys. Subjects usually are manipulated to create conditions for the testing of specific hypotheses as to the behavior in the experimental situation. To give just one example, in a study by Godfrey M. Hochbaum (4), it "was attempted to create four conditions in different individuals by first creating self-confidence regarding the task assigned to the experimental groups in about half the subjects, and feelings of inadequacy concerning the task in the other half. About half of the subjects in each of these two conditions were then made to conceive themselves as deviates." (4, p. 679.)

Moving now to the analysis of the status of those engaged in the behavior under scrutiny, what strikes one immediately is the relative youth of small-group analysts. The average age of the authors of the papers published in the recent issue of the *American Sociological Review* is in the low thirties. It thus differs significantly from the average age of the total membership of the American Sociological Society. Since it is usually between the ages of thirty and thirty-two that individuals enter the academic hierarchy (13, p. 58) as instructors, we can further assume that a high proportion of practitioners of small-group research are as yet occupying lower-staff statuses within the academy.

Having thus roughly located practitioners of small-group research within the social structure of the academic community in which their behavior is

to be observed, we may now move to a tentative discussion of their motives.

As Logan Wilson and other observers have remarked, ascent on the academic ladder is marked by serious strains and anxieties. Among the main strains for the junior men in the academic hierarchy is the uncertainty as to criteria for advancement. The junior member is under pressure to "make good" and neither the wish for security nor the wish for recognition is adequately met (13, p. 63). The temporary insecurity for the individual may subserve positive functions for the university but it has serious dysfunctional consequences for the junior member involved. This is especially so in those major universities in which a high premium is put on the quantity of publication as a criterion for advancement. "Publish or perish" seems to be the unwritten maxim governing the advancement process (13, p. 201). Yet in the early years of an academic career the teaching activities of the junior members are likely to take a disproportionate amount of their time, thus impeding the necessary preparation for scholarly research. Also in those early years of a scholarly career, the young practitioner is not yet likely to have fully absorbed the available literature in his field and to have fully appropriated the theoretical inheritance of his discipline. Pressure to publish in a hurry is thus likely to lead to overzealous attempts to rush into print even though adequate preparation may as yet be lacking.

Furthermore, long established areas of investigation usually are preempted by senior members of the discipline so that entry into these areas of research is likely to involve prolonged periods of apprenticeship during which younger members attach themselves for a considerable time to senior members and slowly gain the recognition which enables them finally to stake out research claims of their own.

The pattern of sociological work in earlier periods was typically that of a researcher writing a book from library sources. But with the increasing complexity of sociological research in the

more recent period, the refinement of method and the attendant growth of necessary apparatus, sociologists have found it more and more difficult to engage in research without considerable outside aid. The young scholar is not likely to have much access to such research funds and thus tends to be considerably hampered in his research activities; he generally is forced to attach himself to a "collaborative" project headed by a senior member who has access to different types of fund granting organizations.

Since library research is no longer prestigious and work in a large-scale collaborative project headed by a senior member does not usually lead to rapid prestige, the junior member's access to the legitimate means for success within the academic structure is impeded. Under such conditions he is likely to be motivated to look for types of innovation which will allow him to attain the institutionally rewarded success by alternative means (8, p. 73).

Small-group research seems to be well suited for this purpose. Publication in this field need not be preceded by the kind of elaborate theoretical preparation that is requisite, although not always actually displayed, in more settled areas of investigation. The field is new and theoretical preparation, according to the standards applied within it, involves only an acquaintance with publications that have appeared within roughly the last fifteen years. Of the many hundred references in the special issue of the *American Sociological Review*, only seventeen referred to articles or books published before 1937! (1)

It might be said that analysis of small groups has, in fact, a very ancient history, going back, indeed, to classical Greek and Chinese philosophy, but this is irrelevant in our context since we are not concerned here with objective reality but with the ways the field has been defined by its practitioners. By their standards the writings of even the most recent forerunners of their movement, are judged irrelevant. Thus in the aforementioned

bibliography of small-group work we note twenty-seven entries under Moreno, nineteen under Festinger, fifteen under Kurt Lewin, but only one under Freud. *The Polish Peasant* by W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki is not listed at all. (12)

Mention has already been made of the difficulties that await the young scholar who attempts to gain access to research funds and tools of research. But such conditions are not likely to prevail in the small-group field where the research apparatus is not as yet very elaborate. This is indeed a field on the frontier, where individuals can still stake out large claims of their own without being restricted by the settled jurisdictions prevailing in older territories. Since there are very few senior members now engaged in small-group research, younger members of the discipline can move ahead much faster, unencumbered by the many restrictions and controls which are likely to prevail in other areas of research.

As C. Wright Mills has observed, "The graduate school is often organized as a feudal system: the student trades his loyalty to one professor for protection against other professors" (10, p. 130). But in a new field such feudal patterns have not yet been established; on the contrary, the pattern of organization may be compared to that of a band of pioneers linked by common rejection of the thought ways of the settled community, by contempt for the old and enthusiasm for the achievements of the members of the brotherhood. We already have commented upon the fact that small-group research, to judge from the evidence of bibliographies, seems to have little regard for work which is not contemporary or near-contemporary; we might add here that it is also characterized by in-group solidarity. When nine judges, mostly well-known small-group researchers, were asked by Strodtbeck and Hare to rate the most significant articles in the field since 1950, they chose twelve articles, five of which had been written by the judges themselves. These same judges

considered the work of George Herbert Mead as "not important," felt it unnecessary to cite more than one work by Freud, did not list any work by Jean Piaget and mentioned only one article by Malinowski which they judged "not important," while not only listing all the writings of the "in-group members" but even decorating them profusely with double and triple asterisks indicating that these were of the greatest importance. (12) We are reminded of Logan Wilson's description of cultism in the academic community: "As long as the cult thrives, particularism flourishes. Members of the in-group are favored by one another in book reviews; complimentary references are made only to the writings of authors with 'approved' points of view." (13, p. 209).

In summary, while in the older areas of research the junior member remains for long periods a "marginal man" whose anticipatory socialization becomes dysfunctional for him since it leads him to become the victim of aspirations he cannot achieve, the relative openness of the structure within new areas of research may be said to be functional for the individual involved to the degree that it helps him to achieve the social status toward which he aspires (9, p. 88.).

Though some technical paraphernalia for small-group research are relatively costly, these costs are generally borne by the university or fund-granting organizations and are still insignificant in comparison with field research. Moreover, where no special research equipment is available, the research design can be simplified so that less elaborate technical facilities can be used. Furthermore, many of the studies are conducted for clients in large-scale bureaucratic organizations which provide the requisite laboratory facilities: both the Air Force and the Navy possess their own small-group laboratories and so does the RAND Corporation. Two out of eleven

studies reported in the *American Sociological Review* were conducted with Navy or Air Force subjects and four out of eleven were financed by Air Force or Navy grants. *

Subjects for small-group studies are easily available since, as has been noted, they can be taken from classes of college students or personnel of the armed forces. In small-group research the difficulties which stand in the way of field work are minimized. Expenses generally are much smaller than those involved in field work; difficulties in obtaining data are likewise minimized since the small-group researcher manufactures the data with which he operates through manipulation of subjects who are easily available and offer little resistance, being to a large extent students subordinated to their teachers or personnel of the armed forces subordinated to the clients of the researchers. It may be noted in passing that small-group researchers recently have turned their attention to techniques on how to improve manipulative devices so as to facilitate the process of recruiting college student "volunteers" for experiments. Thus Schachter and Hall (11) report that, among other things, recruitment of volunteers could be increased by requesting volunteers to raise their hands and having half the class pre-instructed to respond as if volunteering.

Not only does small-group research minimize expenditures of funds, it also minimizes expenditure of time. Results can be attained rather quickly and without the tantalizing expense of time that is so often involved in field work. While a community study or an interview program may involve several months or even years of work, a small experimental group study may only require several weeks or even days for its execution. There are no preliminary delays in which such preparatory work as sampling has to be undertaken since the sample to be studied is the universe.

* Eight out of forty-one studies reported in the Cartwright and Zander volume (2) were likewise supported by grants from either the Navy or the Air Force.

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society held in New York City, April 2-3, 1955.

In short, easy availability of subjects, minimization of expenses in money and time, and the frontier territory are all advantages which recommend such research to those members of the academic hierarchies who, for the reasons outlined above, are under pressure to produce "results" in a hurry.

Having examined some of the internal reasons which have made research in small groups attractive to its practitioners, we might now turn to the question why small group research seems to enjoy high prestige among nonpractitioners.

In recent years higher prestige has accrued to quantifiable than to qualitative results in the social sciences and precision has been rated higher than significance (5, 7). Since findings in small-group research are typically reported in seemingly precise quantitative terms, often in mathematical formalization, they are well suited to bring prestige. In so far as sociologists as well as clients of sociology have been fascinated by natural science methods, the methodological asceticism and the seeming precision of small-group findings are likely to impress various decision-makers both inside and outside the academy. Surrounded as they are by the magic aura of "science", the products of such research seem more easily saleable than work using less precise methods and more complex sets of variables, many of which may not as yet be susceptible to quantification. Such precise formulations are likely to appeal to people who are not able to "take" the uncertainties and complexities arising in work in the uncontrolled world.

Karl Mannheim once remarked that "typical American studies start from questions in nowise connected with those problems which arouse our passions in everyday political and social struggle." (6, p. 191) This remark may be applicable to much research carried on in America today but it eminently characterizes experimental small-group work. Research in this field seems indeed to be carried on under antisepic conditions in which

preoccupation with and contamination by the world at large are rigorously excluded. Such isolation from large-scale questions of import for political and social structure is a decided advantage for the practitioner. In an age of political insecurity and fear, the small group provides an area of research so far removed from the concrete issues of the day and at so high a level of abstraction that it may be considered entirely "safe." While the research in the field, especially in larger groups and organizations, is only too likely to encounter resistance and attack from vested interests or decision makers, while such research might find it hard to get support from foundations which are under Congressional or other scrutiny for their alleged orientation toward reform, small-group research is free from such dangers. Since it does not deal with specific variables operative in the real world outside of the laboratory, it is also not in danger of offending real susceptibilities. Yet it seems that much of small-group research, while conceived on a high level of abstraction is, in the selection of its problems, tied to the solution of immediate problems of various types of bureaucratic decision makers, whether Army, Navy, factory managers or welfare agencies. Small-group research appeals to those decision makers in large-scale organizations who need researchers who do not question or discuss the impact of the organizations' structures but who focus instead on small segments within these structures. The Navy, for example, is not likely to be interested in studies of the bureaucratization of decision making in top echelons or in the relation between the process of militarization and democratic values, but it may want to know more about conformity producing mechanisms. Mr. John R. P. French, a leading small-group expert, discussing field research, has formulated the problem with commendable frankness: "The dominant objective of industry is production and this objective cannot be subordinated to the research objectives of a field experi-

ment. The freedom of the field experimenter is limited to those types of experiments which do not conflict with the goal of the organization with which he works . . . It means that the researcher must be flexible in choosing appropriate problems in a field setting. Most fundamentally, it means that he must render a service which helps the practitioner to achieve his practical objectives." (3, p. 91). Mr. Strodtbeck expresses the same idea somewhat differently when he writes: "The growth of social science research and the availability of agencies willing to invest resources in the solution of *their* (emphasis mine, L.A.C.) problem, are inseparably linked." (1, p. 652.)

While small-group research predisposes the practitioners to selective inattention to large-scale organizational problems and habitually keys its research to a high level of abstraction in which contamination with the problems of society is successfully minimized, it is, on the other hand, well suited to serve the decision maker in the practical problems that he encounters in administration. Just because this research operates on a high level of abstraction, it can easily be tailored according to the specifications of decision makers and clients. Moreover, since small-group researchers often, although not always, claim that results attained in groups of boy scouts or college students are valid beyond the juvenile universe and can be transferred to society at large, this may seem to the decision maker a convenient way of reaching macroscopic results with microscopic expenses.

In conclusion, we might ask whether channeling of a high proportion of personnel into small-group research does not have significantly dysfunctional consequences for the development of sociology as a discipline. The social functions of small-group research help determine its structure, including the recruitment of personnel, but the structure of small-group research also affects its function (8, pp.

80-81). The general research orientation of the small-group school enables its members to acquire a public among the managerial elites of American society and this orientation and public is likely to lead them to neglect crucial societal variables. To the extent that the recent vogue of small-group research leads to the neglect of problems of social structure in favor of preoccupation with the social psychology of adjustment, it may be said to have serious dysfunctional consequences for the development of a mature science of society.

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SOCIAL CHARACTER AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS *

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THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

The thesis of this paper is that social problems have traditionally reflected the social character of the middle class in the United States. This character is in process of change in response to the changing social situation of this class. The latter is losing the crusading spirit that formerly encouraged its members to study social problems. Inasmuch as the sociologist has been recruited largely from this class, the ideology of this class has been reflected in the professional interests of sociologists. These interests are undergoing a substantial modification. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest some of the reasons for this change.

We may define a social problem as a situation that threatens an established social value and that is believed capable of amelioration by appropriate social action. A social problem thus comprises three related elements: (a) A social situation on a comparatively large scale; (b) a social value that is threatened (or believed to be threatened); (c) a belief that the situation may be eliminated or at least ameliorated by organized social action. Social problems are the products of a dynamic society, in which behavior changes more rapidly than the values that define it. (6)

A society in which change is rapid and persistent is marked by more numerous and pressing social problems than one in which change is at a minimum. In a changing society, the sociologist tends to concern himself with the contradictions between behavior and values and with the techniques whereby these contradictions may be eliminated. In a less dynamic society,

the sociologist is interested in less "practical" and more theoretical problems. In this sense, sociologists in the United States and France have responded to different social pressures and have, in the main, devoted themselves to different questions. The social character of the middle-class intellectual in both countries may be in the process of reversal, with the French sociologist increasingly concerned with social problems and his colleague in the United States investigating the more abstract questions of social structure.

THE SOCIAL CHARACTER

The first element in our analysis is the social problem. The second is the social character. The latter concept goes back at least as far as Freud, but its modern expression is derived by Fromm and Riesman. By social character, Fromm refers to "the nucleus of the character structure which is shared by most members of the same culture in contradistinction to the *individual character* in which people belonging to the same culture differ from each other." (5) The culture of any society represents a patterned response to an intricate combination of factors. At any given period, the life conditions necessitate certain responses by the members of the society. The role of social character is to direct behavior into channels that are compatible with the needs of the society. (5)

The concept of social character has been extended by Riesman. He defines this pattern as "the more or less permanent, socially and historically conditioned organization of an individual's drives and satisfactions." (9) This organization is acquired by living in a particular society, wherein the culture is mediated by the family, the peer groups, and the other media of communication. Each society and, in

* This is a revision of a paper read in French before the *XVI Congrès de l'Institut International de Sociologie*, in Beaune (Côte D'Or), France in September, 1954.

a sense, each social class has its own methods of insuring conformity. The inculcation of unthinking conformity takes the form of the social character, which provides the common denominator of acceptable behavior. Social control is thus based upon inner compulsion rather than external force. In Fromm's words, the members of a society "must acquire the kind of character which makes them *want* to act in the way they *have* to act as members of the society or of a special class within it." (3)

We may next consider the factors that produce the social structure that is reflected in the social character. There are many answers to this basic query, ranging from the unilateral (and false) explanation of the racial and geographical determinists to the multilateral (and probably essentially correct) explanations of the cultural historian. The explanation of Riesman is based upon the curve of population growth. The forms of social character in his typology correspond to three stages in the population curve—namely, high potential growth, transitional growth, and incipient population decline. (13) We may indicate briefly the types of social character that accompany each of these stages.

(a) *Tradition-Direction*. This stage is marked by emphasis upon conformity to the past. The principal problems of adjustment are solved through tradition. The social structure is stable, with the emphasis upon ascribed, rather than achieved, statuses and roles. In such a society social change is at a minimum and social problems as defined above scarcely exist. Situations later defined as social problems (e. g., poverty, endemic disease, malnutrition, superstition) are considered in tradition-directed societies to be divinely ordained and hence beyond the power of human action.

(b) *Inner-Direction*. This stage is marked by population growth and social change. Conformity is enforced through "inner" direction, whereby the general norms and goals of the society are inculcated in the child by the parents. The individual follows his internalized goals and in this sense works out his own salva-

tion. This period was the great age of social problems. The middle class became increasingly aware of the gap between behavior and social values. It likewise accepted the belief that appropriate social action could minimize or eliminate this disparity. In a secular democratic society, the sociologist devotes his energies to the understanding and solution of situations defined as social problems.

(c) *Other-Direction*. This stage is marked by an economy of abundance in which the emphasis shifts from saving to spending, from production to consumption. Obedience to the group norms becomes an end in itself. The prevailing social character stresses conformity instead of individuality, and the ultimate goal is adjustment rather than innovation. (8) The humanitarian concerns of the middle class (and hence the sociologist) begin to change, and the emphasis upon social problems becomes less pronounced. Social action directed at alleviating problem situations is taken out of the hands of private persons and entrusted to various bureaucratic agencies. The interest of the middle class shifts from alleviating distress to manipulating the personalities of others.

THE SOCIAL VALUE

In the development of American sociology, the interest in social problems thus reflected the values of an inner-directed middle class. The inner-directed person internalizes the major values of his society and regards his own divergences therefrom as evidence of personal guilt. Similar actions by other persons are regarded as social problems. The other-directed person views departures from conventional behavior in a different light. The emphasis shifts from a consideration of good and bad to an increasing opportunism. The value-judgments defining behavior are subject to change as the deviations become more common. The attitude toward divorce in American society would appear to be undergoing such a change. The inner-directed person considered divorce as a threat to permanent monogamy and hence as a social problem. The other-directed person regards divorce with growing tolerance because of its increasing occurrence.

In an increasingly other-directed society, the nature of social values itself changes. The middle-class child tries to adjust his behavior to that of the peer-group, on pain of ostracism and personal failure if he does not do so. The basic problem situation thus becomes a lack of conformity in general, rather than any specific form of deviation. Social values increasingly involve the isolated individual who cannot or will not conform to the general norms of the group. Under these conditions, the inner-directed man of the old school may himself constitute the most dangerous social problem. Totalitarian conformity of action and thought may conceivably constitute the wave of an other-directed future. (4)

The increasing trend toward other-direction is marked by another paradox in the delineation of social problems. This emerging type of social character seems both more and less tolerant of individual deviations. There may be *more* tolerance toward individual transgressions against the traditional norms, as exemplified by divorce, sexual freedom, and drunkenness. At the same time, there may be *less* tolerance toward the concept of nonconformity *as such*. The individual may find it easier to conform to the whims of the group, whatever they may be at the moment, than to be the master of his fate in the old-fashioned sense. The feeling of *guilt* that formerly marked individual infractions against the traditional social values may be replaced by a feeling of *anxiety* at the possibility of nonconformity.

Problem behavior may be in process of change from individual acts (e. g., sexual license, alcoholism, divorce, suicide) to the more general orientation of the personality. The basic social problem may be "failure" as a person, which means the inability (or unwillingness) to conform to the group, whether adolescent peer group or office group. In an inner-directed society, the individual struggled against his hedonistic impulses; failure to control these impulses led to problem situations. In this category were sexual in-

fractions, drunkenness, gambling, and other violations of the moral code. In an other-directed society, such deviations may be accorded a growing tolerance that will ultimately remove them as social problems. These *positive* actions may be replaced as problem situations by the essentially *negative* condition of unwillingness or inability to reach the more generalized state of conformity.

The trend from inner-direction to other-direction may have other implications for problem behavior. In the older society, the individual suffered from feelings of guilt and remorse and often directed his aggressive impulses toward himself. Urged by a strong superego, this sense of aggression might become so strong as to eventuate in suicide. (2) In an other-directed society, aggressions may no longer be directed against the self, but against those who do not conform to the dominant patterns of the group. These aggressions may take the form of religious, racial, and national hatreds, or other forms of intolerance.

In an other-directed society, social control is increasingly taken from the family and entrusted to various outside groups, notably the peer groups from infancy to adolescence. These groups are themselves subject to indoctrination by the agencies of mass communication. The parents may be confused concerning the nature of the social values which they should inculcate in their children. The evidence indicates that the children conform to the norms of the peer group, rather than to those of the parents, on matters where there is a conflict. (10) The middle-class parents are caught between their own inner-directed pattern of values and those presented to the child by the peer group and the mass communication agencies. The two generations do not even agree as to what is a social problem.

THE SOCIAL ACTION

The final aspect of social problems is the belief that appropriate social action can ameliorate or eliminate the

undesirable situation. Social problems are characteristic of modern, progressive, and democratic societies that believe in the ultimate perfectibility of man through rational collective action. In static societies, social problems do not exist, inasmuch as all behavior is viewed as part of a traditional and sacred order. (1) Social action reflects an inner-directed social character that developed in a secular democracy. We may indicate some of the changes in the concept of social action that reflect the transition toward other-direction.

The changes which the western world has undergone in recent decades have modified the social structure and with it the social character of the middle class. Two world wars, a worldwide depression, and a postwar period of international tensions have combined with technological and social innovations to change the world of the middle class almost beyond recognition. These events have shaken the belief that collective action can resolve all social problems, and have left in its place a resignation in the face of many apparently insoluble events. The vast impersonality of the forces that have brought about the present impasse in international relationships is the most striking case in point. (11)

In this brave new world, many problem situations appear comparatively unimportant as compared to the survival of mankind. In one sense this attitude indicates an increasing willingness to condone personal lapses. In another sense, however, this same tolerance represents an apathy toward situations that threaten the very organization of society. In this latter category are such problems as organized racial prejudice, sectarianism toward minority religious groups, venality in government and business, and demagogic in public life. These social problems represent a real and present danger to the fundamental values of a democratic society. An increasingly cynical and other-directed middle class appears to be less disposed to view these situations as social problems. The crusading spirit of an inner-directed middle

class may be giving way to a situation where the supreme social problem is failure to conform.

We have been concerned up to this point with behavior that is essentially "private," in the sense that it involves deviations from private morality. Another form of problem behavior is essentially "public," in that it reflects the complexity of modern society. The traditional institutions of the family and the church are unable to contend with many of the emerging situations of an industrial and urbanized society. In this category are such situations as poverty, unemployment, ill-health, industrial accidents, the insecurity of old age, mental deficiency, and mental derangement. (7) The stage of transitional population growth, when the inner-directed social character was developing, was marked by an economy of scarcity. The resources to deal adequately with "public" problems were lacking. More important, ideological pressure against the use of public funds for such purposes was so strong that action was seldom taken.

The level of production has changed in recent decades and with it the ideological factors that formerly prohibited social action toward the problems of public behavior. In this field, the inner-directed middle class has, in principle at least, won its fight. The question is no longer one of ends but of means. Welfare activities have in considerable measure passed from private to public agencies. This transfer has sapped some of the crusading enthusiasm of an inner-directed middle class, whose members fought so valiantly for human rights. The disenchantment of this class may reflect the fact that, contrary to its hopes, social problems have not disappeared. Instead, new problems have arisen which are both bewildering and bedeviling to those erstwhile fighters against poverty, insecurity, and prejudice.

The role of the sociologist, as a representative of the middle class, may also be in process of change. In the United States, many of his former activities were directed toward under-

standing and (ultimately) controlling such problem behavior as delinquency, crime, prostitution, racial prejudice, poverty, and dependency. These activities still concern those older sociologists who are survivors of an earlier generation. These men will continue to study social problems and will continue to lend assistance to the appropriate public and private welfare agencies. These social problems are by no means "solved," or are they ever likely to be solved. They will continue to exist for a long time. But the theoretical interest of sociology as a discipline appears to be directed elsewhere.

The gradual shift toward other-direction (if such there be) may thus bring about a significant change in the scientific study of social problems. The trend away from social problems is apparent among the younger sociologists who are currently emerging from the graduate schools and adding to the volume of research. These men are no longer concerned with the study of social problems. Rather are they interested in such fields of specialization as social stratification, social structures, culture and personality, and the mechanics of the small group.

In the latter field, for example, the number of courses has grown spectacularly. There are now an estimated two hundred courses throughout the country dealing directly or indirectly with the small group, plus an estimated eleven hundred additional courses dealing with groups in various related contexts. In terms of research contributions, the number of small group items has grown by geometrical progression, from eleven in the decade 1920-1929, to twenty-one in the decade 1930-1939, to eighty-six in the decade 1940-1949. In the four-year period from 1950-1953, this number increased astronomically to one hundred fifty-two. (12) This trend has many theoretical and practical implications for the study of sociology and the changing climate within which it is carried on. In the present discussion, we can only call attention to this fact.

Many of the theoretical questions of the new sociology underlie the manipulative problems of an other-directed society. These problems are primarily those confronting the new middle class, whose members are increasingly aware of the necessity of manipulating their own personalities and those of others in order to advance through the bureaucratic echelons of big business. The social problems recognized by the inner-directed middle class were largely those that directly affected the lower economic and social classes. The sociologist was a part of this crusading middle class that attempted to better the lot of the poor, the underprivileged, and the ignorant. The new middle class considers these problems largely "solved." Its members are, furthermore, not so much concerned with the lot of the underprivileged, as with their own adjustment to a society that demands conformity as the price of success. The social character that gave rise to social problems may be in the course of disappearance. The traditional concept of social problems may go the way of the social character that produced it.

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THE INFLUENCE OF ETHNIC AND CLASS SUBCULTURES ON CHILD CARE

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Twenty years ago, Ruth Benedict described children as "the little creatures of their culture." In her *Patterns of Culture*, Kwakiutl Indians were compared with Lynd's *Middletown*. Whole cultures were described as being obsessive or paranoid, or like Dobuans, torn by hostile aggression. The patterns were monolithic structures, shaped to a single archetype, and children were moulded in this image. As to the contrasts in the patterns, psychological principles determined the selection over time of the form and content of the culture itself. In subsequent simplifications of Freudian theory, the basic infantile disciplines were used to explain the complexities of a cultural way of life (2, 20, 22.).

This paper investigates the three basic premises of this position: (a) That cultural patterns are single archetypes and timelessly dependable may be noted as being contrary to our own research in an American metropolitan district where subcultural ethnic and status groupings undergo, each of them, a different pace of acculturation dependent on conditions in the host culture and in the original culture. At any rate, subcultures and status variables increasingly mark modern societies. (b) That patterns are wholly psychological in essence may be challenged by reference to the historical economic and social conditions under which patterns exist, and here we may

consider Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword* along with other Japanese and Japanese-American researchers (3, 13, 16). (c) Finally, the assumption that basic infantile disciplines (like nursing, weaning, toilet-training, or treating a child with indirect causality and emotional neglect) weigh more heavily than the child's reception in extra-familial groups has not been empirically validated. One criticism of such far-reaching studies, or theories, of culture and personality was that they were built on foundations of non-quantified method. Another related to the psychological impressionism of studies of this type. For example, will casual emotional rejection assail *all* or even *most* of the children of a culture, and if so, can it then be found in institutional form as *resulting* emotional outbursts in dissociative form affecting religion, social life and customs in adults?

The variations in cultural values and attitudes affecting child care do not require an exclusively psychogenetic theory, and the children in America of European, Asian and American Indian ancestry are not merely creatures of our culture and times but share in and conflict at points with their own parental cultures in a complex series of patterns. In this paper we shall present the results of research concerning the following groups. (a) In New York City, Irish, Italian, German,

Czech, Slovakian, and Puerto Rican constitute our predominant populations, all except the latter with first, second and subsequent generation levels. (b) The separate Japanese American data are in terms of a first (*Iseï*), second (*Niseï* or *Kibei*) and third (*Sansei*) generation population. (c) We shall discuss child care distinctions among an increasing American Indian group, seen from the vantage point of certain Southwestern reservations. The class membership of these groups vary, the Japanese-Americans reaching lower middle class or even somewhat higher levels, and being described by Caudill as having such value orientations (5). If non-migratory Japanese factory hands were studied, it is presumed the value orientations would be found to vary. While we found the Puerto Rican migrant, on the other hand, to be in the midst of job downgrading, socioeconomic status was low on both shores. The Indian groups, while acculturating, are enclaved in a position of low status.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE INFANT DETERMINISM HYPOTHESIS

Beginning with the assumption that infantile disciplines determine *institutionalized* psychopathology, work on Hindu-Balinese ceremonial dances shows the Balinese trance-dance forms to be historical imports from India and Java (18). A highly competent psychiatrist, Stainbrook, noted that trance states in *Condomble* cults of Brazil were very transient hysterical seizures contrasting with schizoid dissociative processes in patients from the same region (25). Franz Boas, in his memorial essay to Tonnies in 1936, raised several points of caution concerning the individuality of cultures described as personalities or personal projections (4). Sapir, the year following, published a searching criticism of overly simplified pattern analyses in which cultures were seen as clinical models (22). John Embree and others have criticized the notion of Japanese or Japanese-Americans as being rigidly toilet-trained or constricted in their

earliest home environment (6, 15). H. Orlansky did not even find infant disciplines determine adult behavior (20).

Today, essentially limited views of child rearing practices are not proclaimed to be *the key* to any culture and its problems. The infant disciplines have given way to more inclusive views of child rearing and the latter, even as they change, are said to illuminate the most general comprehension of cultural differences, not explain them away. Practically no anthropologist believes culture moulds children directly into fixed, invariable patterns of behavior. Most agree that culture, as an elaborate and perhaps the chief adaptive mechanism of whole groups of people, embodies a considerable range of learned patterns of traditional behavior in which class and status variants in child care are only two of a series of significant differences (1, 23). The early experience of the child provides one basis for long-standing values and motivations, but in addition to psychological relationships with parental figures there is "the particular sociocultural group in which the family participates" (23). When such variables in experience, values and motivation operate in individuals, there are still ordinarily norms or cultural values used by the person or his cultural group for measuring behavior. In studies with Singer on ethnic and class variants in behavior and psychopathology, using Rorschach M responses and other projective test indicators, it has been noted that lower class parents are less available, scheduled gratifications are more haphazard and their provision less assured and the value of delay is less clear to the child. In contrast, middle class families have routines and family unity in food, recreational and other gratifications. In keeping with the Protestant ethic, they emphasize saving, education and delayed goals. Thus they develop the capacity for delayed gratification in general ego development (24). Ethnic differences, as between the Irish capacities for fantasy and the Italian stress

upon emotional expressiveness, impulse and acting out show even stronger covariance as measured by Rorschach M-responses, a battery of twelve other psychological instruments, and the total psychiatric profiles of strictly drawn samples of Irish and Italian schizophrenics (19). This means that what happens to people in normative or extreme reaction formations depends upon their culture and status position. Since we could find no basic intergeneration difference in our sample, we hold it is such cultural-status variations which impose, or impart, an entire system of values and a large body of attendant customs and attitudes. In family functioning, this larger pattern of adaptive mechanisms, never individually discovered and more than are contained in child care, come into play. Cultural and status or subcultural backgrounds are thus re-positioned both in individual personality, and in certain shared attitudes, customs and behavior. They are both learned and motivated, rational and emotional.

PUERTO RICANS

A Puerto Rican infant arrives at home more usually than in a hospital and while the Island practice of a hammock in reach of the parental bed is little seen, proximity to the mother from the earliest moment persists. But weaning, as a gradual replacement of demand feedings, may in New York be a function of the mother's greater job opportunity and employment continuity (as in the garment industry) as contrasted with those of the father (as in service trades). The cherishing of children and cultural rules demanding their respect are modified in the second generation by this greater job opportunity for women. Action programs must learn to recognize their frequent distance from the home scene. While the Spanish, father-authoritarian culture and double standard in sexual conduct is heard, there is a current challenge to long-standing values and attitudes. Fathers shall rule the home, be fed with male guests before women

and children and conceive of donations to the household as enhancements of their reputations as providers. In terms of patriarchy, the male is expected to be dominant and demanding, the female protected by male relatives and duly modest and shy. But as frequently happens where values and economics clash headlong, the males in our metropolitan district probability sample, have difficulty in maintaining a tenuous authority and cannot single-handedly support a home. Moreover, the newly-found freedom and importance of women lead directly to sometime serial common-law liaisons, for the person who pays the rent and rules the home is now less generally the male. Thus we encounter male fears of impotence, castration anxieties, hypochondriacal complaints (the head, the stomach), mothers compensating for absent father figures and becoming castrating females. Consequently, agencies report increasing prostitution and male homosexuality as disrupting homes and distorting original values.

AMERICAN INDIANS

In contrast to this rapid pace of acculturation and the dislocating clash of values, one can turn to American Indian enclaves. E. H. Erikson, the psychoanalyst, has in *Childhood and Society* pictured aboriginal Sioux hostility and bravado in warfare as a function of the stored-up restrictions of the cradleboard, long nursing interrupted by the eruption of milk teeth, and biting thwarted by duly irritated mothers. This account has graphic persuasiveness extending to the long pent-in motility bursting forth in long expeditions over the Plains with infancy-determined hostility and aggression. The effects of the horse or of such other acculturation phenomena as White encroachments are simply not mentioned (7).

In Ute studies, however, we reported an almost identical cradleboard stuffed with powdered sage bark to absorb waste. Motion was inhibited. Ute mothers nursed even longer than

the Sioux, sometimes with classificatory sisters continuing the suckling after solids were added to the age of four. Like their linguistic cousins, the peaceful Hopi, the Ute aboriginally feared warfare, had "talking peace chiefs" and held to mountain camps for safety from Plains or Apache marauders. Their culture is distinct from the Sioux at every point (14). With ceremonies for infants and children, intended to promote health, vigor and beauty, they attain protective supernatural power to which young adults later add through dream experience an increased religious rapport or personal supernatural gifts. There is no pattern of medicine bundles in religion, no societies in warfare and no counting of *coup* for prestige. The annual Bear Dance ceremony is again for protection in the mountains and equally to facilitate in-group social contacts and promote courtships. With only defensive warfare, dual standards of Plains peoples are lacking and women not only choose in social dances, but encourage male clandestine visits to camps. Traditionally, marriages were breakable by either spouse. Such patterns as trial marriages up to the birth of a child or decision to hold a marriage ceremony; the custom of *couvade* to indicate a husband's responsibility towards children; adoption by a host of relatives; these techniques all insure child-centered marriages and families. In their system of relationship, any age and experience distinctions link with authority, but such authority is obviously diffused and shared up to the grandparental generation. The protections and privacy attending the family at the time of a birth were so little understood by white health and hospital officials that confinements held in a brick hospital led to all unrelated male patients, in various stages of all illnesses, gathering their blankets about them never to return.

South of the Ute, the author lived among three Apache tribes for more than a year. Again the enclave afforded by reservations slowed up accultura-

tion. Apache Indians, in New Mexico, while emphasizing family solidarity like the Ute in an extended pattern of relationship including cousins, do not have equal authority of men and women nor do they venerate age. In the Apache prizing of health and vigor, the aged and infirm were often resented and accused of witchcraft. Adulterous women or jealous wives, far from physical combat with rivals to settle the score—as was Ute practice—might instead have noses slit or ears notched by irate husbands. Nor did they, like Ute women generally, administer to needs of camp scouts and watchers, or follow men into battle. As with Utes, birth connoted separation from males, as did menstruation, but in the Apache case confinement was unceremonious and nothing like the protective atmosphere was afforded. In child care, Apache practices disclosed a stricter and less indulgent family scene with emphases on training and hardening for males or vigor and industry for females. A girl's adolescence rite among Apache, however well-intended, was in fact an ordeal of almost continual, strained dancing for four days plus prescriptions to drink water through a tube and to scratch with a stick prepared for this purpose. While both Ute males and females could seek an additional mate, and rarely did, Apache, more given to raid and warfare, had polygamy for men outstanding in warfare, shamanism and hunting. While also Apache grandparental generations frequently had warmer and closer relationships to children, residence was always in closest proximity to the girl's parents in a marriage; the imposing of formal restrictions like polite avoidance and special respect language upon son's-in-law conduct introduced principles of rigid conformity deep into family scenes and complicated the training and control of children. Weaning among Apaches comes earlier and indulgence is hardly the term for their child care. American Indian cultures are far from uniform in values and child care practices.

The Navajos of Arizona are linguistically related to the Apache, yet have adopted both horticulture and herding. By traditional ceremonies and high curing rites called "Chantways" they have supplanted individual supernatural power and pass on the gifts of singing and curing under tutelage, letter perfect. Yet while they consolidate religious authority, they diffuse the parental control. As Kluckhohn and Leighton have shown, child training and influence can become more diffused in the extended kinship pattern and alherence is stronger toward the traditional matrilineal local group than is true of more family oriented Ute or Apache. Thus, Navajos match permissive infant and childhood handling with the influence of a wide circle of relatives. The emphasis on the retention of individuality, or on personal freedom and spontaneity is more successful. Projective materials from the Navajo, compared with those from Samoa, for example, are individualized and show marked lack of the emotional constriction. Walter Dyk's Navajo autobiography, *Son of Old Man Hat*, and Leighton's *Gregorio, The Hand Trembler* reveal distinct and unconstricted personalities.

The Hopi have a still broader sense of community solidarity and obligation to clan or matrilineal line which override even individual and family authority or autonomy. The Hopi, still more settled agricultural relatives of the Ute, represent a people who have priesthoods, who plant and wait or even dance with inexorable and patient insistence. For them, there is less need for immediacy, or for direct, individualized expression of thought, action and emotion. Here individuality and personal freedom are frowned upon as evil and are subordinated to well-worn grooves of traditional security. Atop mesas, the ancient life and rituals go on as if unchallenged behind this facade of group solidarity, a matrilineal lineage system. Despite centuries of Mexican and American trade and contact, an unsuccessful Pueblo revolt, and the ebb and flow of even earlier

Apache and Navajo depredations, the Hopi child is still taught to refer thought, emotion and impulse to these generally pervasive group standards. To reach him effectively, one must penetrate this facade, but for this, the formula has been for centuries, "Enter into our spirit."

That the infant determinism hypothesis fails to account for such data on values, family organization and economic setting seems clear. But it is argued, often by the non-anthropologist, that these are economic settings which are notably unproductive and uniform throughout the society and that because of the slow pace of change or uniformities in status, only here would culture be king. More often, anthropologists and the objects of their study agree that such systems of value are rarely perfect, and that positively speaking, most persons in such scenes enrich themselves by creative, personal interpretation of values. This is what Sapir implied by speaking of "genuine", as opposed to spurious culture. Horney has likewise noted that cultural values often operate under realistic conditions still less perfect and therefore further from standards of personal self-fulfillment. Erich Fromm attempted to describe persons whose social and inner personalities could not escape the deeply rooted and culturally determined anxieties, compulsions and often hostile relationships of our times (8, 10). These authors hold that values, attitudes and customs reflect child care as surely as they are mirrored in family organization, religion, or in other large aspects of a social system. But child care does not determine culture or subculture.

NEW YORK CITY DAY CARE CENTERS

In urban scenes, marked by a complex heterogeneous system of subcultures undergoing change, it is important to recognize the subcultures, whether ethnic or socioeconomic. In two Day Care Centers in New York City, studies were conducted reaching from behavioral observation of chil-

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dren in age-graded groupings to their homes. By locating children in their particular social environments (class, ethnic and religious groups), consistent variations in family functioning, and its stresses and typical strains, could be noted. "Home problems", in turn, often proved to be cultural problems. As noted above, Puerto Rican boys with absent or substitute fathers were torn between masculine self-assertion and the masculine protest. New York had made a shambles of cultural values. A favorite expression was "I wouldn't trade Puerto Rico for five hundred New Yorks." In the home, parents often worried about proper discipline and lack of respect towards elders, particularly male elders. They blamed out-group children. In one day camp to which children were followed one summer, maternal concern and overprotectiveness echoed the fathers' sentiments in overconcern about neatness, food served, or physical protection.

In one Center, it was found that German-American mothers, and in adult programs even grandmothers harped on the disciplinary problem of children. Coming from urban and rural lower middle class families abroad, work and discipline were more important than the encouragement of spontaneity. With highly controlled and rigid backgrounds of their own, they overcame such spontaneity as was encouraged in the nursery school program. Such efforts were backed or instigated by paternal demands in the first generation for greater obedience. In several children, the home-school schism led to further behavioral problems in school since acting out and the easy expression of feelings was forbidden at home. In one case that was exemplary, the child developed a pattern of sly duplicity, and in many cases discontinuities in co-operation of home and school were worsened. The social science expert could make himself useful by being alert to subcultural variance in attitudes towards discipline and authority and recognizing the re-

flexion of these problems in children's behavior.

Irish mothers, in the same districts, worried less about discipline. Compliance to authority, far from being a discipline, had an official and sanctified glow about it or was self-rewarding in such areas as school and church. In the family scene, Irish mothers had authority, and unlike the German did not need to assert it. Yet boys and girls showering in the nude, hardly a problem in German mothers' consideration of the school, was frightening the Irish. It unleashed or projected personal and cultural attitudes about nudity, sin and sex, for which unfortunately the children were unprepared by parental instruction. "We don't talk about such things," might be uttered crisply. Usually the very fears and prurience grew richly in silence and neglect. While German and Czech mothers welcomed the cleanliness and coolness for their children, the sunbathing which went with showers was called a part of good "physical culture", consistent with support of Czech *Sokol* and German *Turnverein* activities. Yet even here there was not always unanimity in values. Slovakian mothers from more rural backgrounds welcomed the exercise, but frowned on nudity for little girls more than for boys. In contrast to this last patriarchal attitude, Czechs argued with more sophistication and urbanity that what was good for boys was good for girls as well. With their greater matriarchy in which mothers controlled the family budget, assertions that girls were "more expensive", or more wilful, or harder to raise emanated from Czechs. Such mothers wondered at lack of discipline for children in general in the nursery, compared with *Sokol* classes they had known. Italian mothers thought merely that boys were less amenable to control, but of course girls needed more protection.

Most dominant group Americans are generally insensitive to the variants in attitude. They are not typically faced with them in quantity large

enough to impress. Consequently, they repeatedly use stereotypes with little variation. Ruth Tuck, in *Not With the Fist* tells of an objective test made among wealthy Irish who constitute San Bernadino's elite. In this California community, the early Irish settlers who began at the bottom have descendants who look askance upon the town's growing and more recently arrived population of Mexican-Americans. To test elite attitudes. Boston canards from the late 1800's about Irish immigrants were copied from the Boston press of the day and read as descriptions of a "people." The descriptions spared nothing in generality about dirtiness, intemperance, "breeding habits," impulsiveness and hot temper. Of course, the Irish elite mistook the description of their ancestors (in the form of a vicious stereotype) and applied it to the Mexican-Americans.

Social and cultural backgrounds, containing child care, influence the individual through his life course. This influence ranges from habits of speech and thought, through perception or attitude or custom. It will have much to say about notions of duty and obligation, sexual role, the means of worship, or even the size and composition of effective social units. All of these phenomena are open to effects of acculturation.

Customs and attitudes, whether they relate to ideas of proper male and female conduct, notions of authority or egalitarianism in the family, constructs on emotional expression, or whatever, typically evoke one type of situational response and make another unthinkable. Since they constitute the outlines of a motivational and expressive system larger than the individual, they allow for characteristic styles of interpersonal conduct, communication and even reaction to events. Studies in which psychiatrists and anthropologists have jointly participated (Leighton's in Stirling County or that of Rennie and associates in a major American city) aim at documentation of the sociocultural variables affecting human

lives and mental functioning. Data on child rearing are included as in any current study. For three decades this has been the case in all interdisciplinary research. Bingham Dai, Allison Davis or Robert Havighurst have described class and color differentia in child development. W. E. Henry, using Thematic Test technique, has demonstrated consistent culture-personality variations. It is less important to know that the Melting Pot is producing acculturation than to know the strains are there today. If students have located culture and personality variations in relationship and have found a cause of child care in culture, it is best not to blur the differences that now exist and have force. It is better to understand them.

Malinowski, after Durkheim, demonstrated the institutional cohesion of a culture, and derived psychological principles therefrom in his *Sex and Repression*. David Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd* has sought to find an underlying functional unity in American culture by modifying the concept of *anomie* in a new direction. The formula has not escaped the charge of over-generalization, and Reisman has often replied with attack on the excesses of culture-personality studies which stress particular cultural textures. America, he holds, embodies mass-produced values of an economy for ready consumption—one framework in which certainly we all live. But from cultural, social and hence, psychological points of view, is this the real matrix of our various lives? Are mass-produced values implanted in Americans, with no variance, by "other-directed" ideas of conformance? Sheer conformity and nondescript anonymity is conformance to *what*? Handlin and others prefer a painstaking study of social and cultural traditions within the American scene, and their change. For anonymity, check the small town or the urban tenement or apartment house. For other-directedness, compare standards and values set up in English or German households, and compare them with Irish, Italian or Japanese

families. Without both ethnic and class differentiation and note of generation level and acculturation process, one can mark off an intended description of the middle class for certain purposes of global analysis, but one will not reach the psychological variations. The same tendency afflicted Gorer's *American People*, though Reisman adds profound historical insight and a more useful generalization on the clash of values.

JAPANESE AND JAPANESE-AMERICANS

Our disparate traditions, even while undergoing change and the clash of values, show remarkable persistence. Who cannot remember wartime notions of Japanese and Japanese-Americans as being other-directed? A curious reticence and restraint, efficiency in work, and kinship cohesion implied, to some "race", to others the psychological selectivity of national character. Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword* emphasized patterns of duty and obligation back to pre-Meiji times, erasing patterns of historic and economic change. There are, to be sure central tendencies in behavior related to the way "children are raised," but they are not raised for emotional constriction. If one examines Japanese culture, its value system and class variants, the same children who are restrained in school and in public are wholeheartedly spontaneous and indulged at home. This is especially the case for eldest sons or only children. In language schools stateside, or in Issei experience, teachers are *sensei* (professor, physician, learned dignitary). Such persons are bowed to before and after exercises and abroad have official governmental status, or else special status. The hope in middle class families that the male head may retire at sixty was not always met in fact, but anxious desires for a son's support were prevalent. In sonless families, a daughter could continue a family name by *yoshi-* marriage (the binding of a son-in-law through adoption with his change of name). If

baishakunin (go-betweens) were successful, marriages could affect family fortunes. Eldest sons inherited paternal rights and seals only when the latter reached sixty, quite unlike the Chinese system; and a general system of male supremacy, parental authority, and daughter-in-law subordination prevailed. In Hawaiian marriages across cultural boundaries, the greater stringency of this family system over the Chinese is reflected by Japanese girls commonly deciding on Chinese husbands, but Chinese girls rarely accepting Japanese as mates.

This sketch of family organization is fitted to the poor and hardly stable middle-class, feudal remnant economy in which it was born. Forest floors are brushed clean for charcoal and brushwood. Of three frugal meals, only one in villages is ever cooked. Industriousness, restraint and self-discipline are universally prized. There is striving for the maintenance of position. What Gorer in his *Themes of Japanese Culture* hypothesized as related to rigid toilet-training or Benedict as due to constriction of activity at home are not there in fact, apart from effect (9). F. S. Hulse and others documented resistances to authority in wartime Japan with absenteeism in industry rising to between forty and fifty percent (11, 12). On the other hand, John Embree in *Suye Mura, A Japanese Village* stressed the constant mutual aid in Japanese peer groups. Subordination to family and to group or singleness of purpose give an inevitable impression of what to Japanese is most ordinary and necessary. Worn rubrics of emotional constriction and toilet-training imply a dead stamp upon character and temperament not present in reality. The Chinese who admit a greater degree of equivalence of brothers, hope to keep them under the same roof as their parents, and devolve property and authority upon the eldest or any other far earlier in life, have had less male supremacy emphasis, more diffusion of authority, and more "individual" striving for position. It is well to remem-

ber that they have had less feudal caste system and certainly a less rigidly controlled system of economic controls and unified classes.

General studies of values, even in a setting of historical process, are probably not enough. Relocation Center studies noted cultural revivalism as well as the Japanese flair for organization and efficiency (16, 17). Anthropologists like William Caudill and psychiatrists like Charlotte Babcock continuing these studies in the mainstream of American life find notions of peer group solidarity, intense ideas of family unity and sex role with male authoritarianism functioning under new conditions of acculturation. Certain patterns of reaction to stress can be noted in the occasional needs for passive dependency, a striving for position by industriousness and subservience, and the suppression of individual expression that sometimes moves from normal dignity and constraint to depressive dimensions. Such defenses are not the normal reading of values, but they eventuate from a necessary adherence to values once useful and now undergoing challenge. They may be set up against the friendliness of the home scene, the indulgence of young children, and the solidarity behind family efforts to establish family reputation. An increase in the number of unmarried mothers countering the daughter-in-law role, or the assumption of early family duties and obligations among others with overt respect for elders and obeisance to authority may take its toll and exact its price. Under such conditions of stress, reductions of pride and self-esteem (themselves implicit in the typical defenses often used) remove two assets crucial to Japanese children and adults alike. We emphasize the same values but with less consistency and consequently less internal impact (5).

Psychiatry can utilize a knowledge of such patterns, and their psychological consequences and variations under change, in the reshaping of individual lives. Cultures are not always self-consistent systems and they are not

selected by psychological systems. They contain the greatest assets of people and contain also the pitfalls and problems inherent in the nature of human relationships themselves.

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THE EFFECT ON INTERGROUP ATTITUDES OF THE UNESCO PAMPHLETS ON RACE *

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SPONSORSHIP AND PURPOSE OF STUDY

A few years ago the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization published a series of pamphlets entitled "The Race Question in Modern Science." Written by some of the leading scientists in the UNESCO membership countries, the series was designed to implement the work of the United Nations in reducing prejudice and discrimination by providing authoritative information on the nature of race and racial differences, and on the origins and uses of prejudice.

* A report of a study co-sponsored by UNESCO and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. A SPSSI Committee, consisting of Professors Otto Klineberg, Dorwin Cartwright, and Stuart Cook, appointed Professor Gerhart Saenger as project director. A major portion of the data also appears in Gerhart Saenger, "The Effectiveness of the UNESCO Pamphlet Series on Race," *International Social Science Bulletin*, 6 (1954), 488-502. This journal is published by UNESCO and is available at the Columbia University Press.

In 1952 UNESCO set up a small pilot study in the United States in order to test the effectiveness of these pamphlets as teaching aids in American high schools and colleges. The aim of the study was to ascertain to what extent exposure to the pamphlets contributed to the existing knowledge of its readers and affected prejudiced attitudes.

DETERMINANTS OF EFFECT

The effectiveness of the pamphlets can be described in terms of the following criteria:

1. They must reach their audience.
2. They must be comprehensible.
3. They must succeed in increasing information.
4. Their message must be understood to the extent that the reader can draw his own conclusions, apply what he has learned.
5. The message must be accepted and result in the desired change in attitude.

Using a captive audience such as students, it may appear at first glance that it would not be possible to obtain information concerning our first variable. Yet college students do not always read all their assignments. We were therefore able to find out whether the less informed and more prejudiced subjects, who could benefit most from reading, were reached as often as the other students.

Some clarification is also needed concerning the difference between the attainment of new information and genuine understanding. It is possible to acquire new facts in a mechanical way without understanding their implications so as to be able to make deductions. "Education" sometimes succeeds only in enabling the student to check the correct answer on a "true-false" question. He fails, however, in grasping its meaning, is unable to express the idea in his own words.

OBSTACLES TO USE OF PAMPHLETS IN HIGH SCHOOL

In many communities the United Nations and especially UNESCO are considered controversial topics. Most school administrators therefore appear to hesitate to expose their students to UNESCO materials.

This fear goes back to the successful fight of "patriotic" groups in Los Angeles against the use of a series of UNESCO publications explaining the work and philosophy of the organization. UNESCO was accused of alienating the loyalties of the school children from the United States and of advocating world government. This experience led to apprehension among school administrators concerning the use in public schools of any UNESCO publications, regardless of their content.

Not much was lost, however, because it is fairly safe to predict that the pamphlets would have been ineffectual on the high school level. School principals, social science teachers and experts in inter-group education stated almost unanimously that the pamphlets were too difficult even for juniors

and seniors. These subjective impressions were substantiated by applying the Flesch Reading Index to all pamphlets used in the study.

THE COLLEGE SAMPLE

Five colleges were chosen to test the effectiveness of the pamphlets among college students: the School of Education of New York University, Montclair Teacher's College and Upsala University in New Jersey, Kent State University, Ohio, and the University of Wisconsin.

All subjects were taken from beginning classes in psychology or sociology, which may constitute a small bias in so far as students taking these courses are generally slightly more liberal than those not taking these courses. The total sample in all five colleges amounted to 635 cases. Not all student were always present during the four class periods required to administer all tests; and others failed to heed the written instructions correctly or omitted questions. The analysis was therefore based on 450 cases.

RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to test the effectiveness of exposure to the pamphlets, the total population in each college was divided into two groups: an experimental group which read the pamphlets and a control group which took all the tests used to establish effectiveness, but did not read the pamphlets.

The effectiveness of education may be reduced by the frequently observed tendency of potential audiences to avoid exposure to materials expressing ideas with which they find themselves in disagreement. We also tend to avoid reading materials produced by persons or organizations toward whom we harbor unfriendly attitudes. To study the effect of such resistances, a test measuring prejudicial attitudes, a test measuring attitudes toward UNESCO, and the California F-scale were given prior to exposure to the reading materials.

The administration of these tests made it possible not only to study the

effect of resistance on exposure to the UNESCO materials and on the acquisition of new information, but was useful also to ascertain how well matched control and experimental groups were.

To study gains in information and understanding, all groups were given "knowledge" and "understanding tests" after a period of four weeks. During this time the experimental groups were asked to read the pamphlets. Comparisons between the experimental and control groups established the amount of learning which took place.

The Montclair and NYU students were exposed to only three pamphlets, *Roots of Prejudice*, *Race and Psychology* and *Race and Culture*. The Uppsala students read *Roots of Prejudice*, *Racial Myths*, and the popular version of *Race and Biology*.

To measure the effect of the reading upon the prejudiced attitudes, a disguised test was employed. Research in race relations has shown that students often merely learn to give "correct" democratic replies to attitude tests rather than experience a change of attitude. Moreover, the "before and after" method has the disadvantage that we do not know whether a change of scores in an attitude test given after exposure to the educational material is due to the effect of the material or the result of exposure to a previous attitude test. For this reason changes in attitude were measured by comparing the "projective attitude test" scores of the experimental and the control groups.

To measure not only changes in general ethnic attitudes but to obtain information concerning the readers' willingness to act upon their attitudes, all groups were asked to indicate their willingness to participate in various phases of the UNESCO educational program.

TESTS USED

Both the tests on "Attitudes toward the United Nations" and on "Attitudes toward Different Racial and Ethnic Groups" consisted almost entirely of fixed alternative questions permitting

a score range of eighteen and nine points. The three different tests used to measure increases in information consisted of "true-false" and "multiple choice" questions. The "Knowledge Test" used to measure the effects of reading the pamphlets, *Roots of Prejudice and Racial Myths*, (with emphasis on the former) as well as the test designed to measure the effects of exposure to *Race and Biology* or *What is Race?* had a total range of twenty-seven score points. The test used to measure the effect of *Race and Psychology* and *Race and Culture* had a total range of eighteen points. For purposes of comparison, the scores were converted to a percentage scale. A score of one hundred points represents correct answers to all questions or a perfect knowledge score.

Understanding was measured by asking open-ended questions related to the pamphlet content. While the direct answers were not given in the pamphlets, the questions could be answered easily if the factual materials given in the pamphlets were absorbed and understood correctly, i.e., if the reader was able to generalize from his readings.

The projective test employed consisted of an adaptation of an information test designed by Donald T. Campbell. The students are asked to answer apparent information questions to which they are not likely to know the answers and hence have to guess. The nature of the guesses is presumed to be indicative of their attitudes. The items included questions concerning the proportion of Negroes in the USA in 1900 and 1950, the average income figures for various ethnic groups, the proportion of Negroes with mental diseases. It is thought that overestimates of the growth of the Negro population or of the income of Jews is related to prejudice.

As in most projective tests of this sort, the disguise is not perfect and it may be possible to detect the intent of the questions. To some extent the nature of the guesses will also be related to information. Hence it appeared

important to validate our projective questionnaire.

A first approach consisted in keeping information constant to ascertain whether the relationship found between our undisguised prejudice scale and the projective test would disappear. In the latter case the projective test would have measured information exclusively rather than attitudes.

No significant difference in projective scores between those who had scored low and those who scored high on the initial test occurred among those who were generally well informed on our subject matter. Significant relations between the projective and the undisguised attitude tests however, existed among those who were less well informed. Apparently, this type of projective test works best among relatively uninformed individuals.

Presumably the undisguised attitude test is not conclusive because prejudiced persons, who live in a society which frowns upon race bias, may tend to hide their real feelings. We should, therefore, not rely solely upon the doubtful undisguised attitude test to validate our disguised test.

Prior research indicated a relationship between character and ethnic prejudice. The California F-scale for the measurement of the democratic-authoritarian character structure can therefore be used to validate the projective attitude scale. The results indicate a correlation between "authoritarianism" and a high prejudice score on the projective scale which increases our confidence in using the latter test for the measurement of attitude change. Parenthetically, there also is the expected correlation between personality as measured by the F-scale and attitudes toward the U.N.

IMPROVEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

Marked improvements in knowledge concerning the subject matter of the pamphlets can be accomplished only in areas where considerable initial

ignorance is found. *Race and Psychology* could be expected to be relatively ineffectual because the students tested were already well informed on the subject matter discussed in the pamphlet. As a result of the highly effective work by Klineberg and other workers in the field, the average college student is by now thoroughly familiar with the fact that differences in IQ between Negroes and whites are not likely to represent differences in native intelligence, but can be attributed to educational and social handicaps. Nineteen out of twenty students who had not read this pamphlet answered more than 60% of all questions right. In contrast, only one out of five students not exposed to the pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice* and *Racial Myths* was able to answer correctly more than 60% of all questions based on these pamphlets.

Exposure to the pamphlet, *Roots of Prejudice*, led to considerable improvement in information both in the East and Middle West. The change was more pronounced in the East, although Easterners did less reading. Perhaps the smaller improvement in the Middle West is the result of greater resistance to learning caused by more negative feelings toward the U.N. and greater insistence on reading. A slight improvement resulted from reading the pamphlet *Race and Biology*, while exposure to the pamphlet *Race and Psychology* did not lead to any improvement.

The above analysis is based on a comparison of those not asked with those asked to read the pamphlets. It is indicative of changes in the group as a whole, not a direct measure of different amounts of reading. To evaluate the effect of different amounts of reading, we had to correlate the time spent reading with the amount of information the students had.

Particularly in the East refusal to read may be caused by resistance resulting from prejudice. Our expectation that the "non-reader" in the experimental group would have a lower score

than the average member of the control group was borne out by our results.

In view of the UNESCO objective to contribute to information as well as to combat prejudiced attitudes, we asked ourselves whether increases in information may by themselves lead to favorable changes in attitude. The data indicate that our relatively unprejudiced students know substantially more about the causes of prejudice than our more prejudiced students and appear also slightly better informed about the nature of racial differences.

This relation between high prejudice and low information, however, may be interpreted in different ways. An increase in information concerning the causes of prejudice and the nature of racial differences may lead to a decrease of prejudice. It is also possible that the less prejudiced students tend to expose themselves more to information concerning these subjects. They may approach readings providing new information with a more open mind, may be more willing to accept the message than more prejudiced individuals.

It is likely that both statements are correct. To the extent that there are individuals who do not have personal (quasi-neurotic) needs to maintain their prejudice, or are not exposed to very strong pressure toward the maintenance of prejudice, to that extent can information help to reduce prejudiced attitudes.

UNDERSTANDING

There is evidence that the pamphlets not only contributed to information but were able to deepen the student's understanding of the causes of apparent differences between racial groups.

We thought that the ability to understand these issues correctly would provide an incentive to more enlightened action. It was, therefore, encouraging to find that those exposed to the pamphlets were more often able to give an answer and gave a correct answer more often.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

To what extent, if any, did the gain in information and understanding lead to a change of attitude? Comparing the students who were asked to read the pamphlets with those not assigned them, we find a small though statistically not reliable change.

Because our Midwestern control group was initially slightly more prejudiced than those Midwesterners who were exposed to the pamphlets, we decided to compare separately all subjects who had a high initial prejudice. In this manner we were able to eliminate the error introduced by inadequate matching. We then find that the change registered for the total sample represents an underestimate. Our projective test indicates a significant shift in the direction of a reduction of prejudice particularly in the originally more prejudiced group.

The earlier discussion on the validity of the projective information test indicates that the test is more likely to be valid for the more prejudiced individuals. These subjects are usually less well informed and hence less likely to guess the correct answer on our test. Moreover, we are actually more certain about the initial attitudes of those scoring high in the initial attitude test. This group consists of persons who are more prejudiced and willing to admit their biases. Individuals who score low on the original test may either be genuinely less prejudiced, or more highly prejudiced but unwilling to admit it, and perhaps even unaware of their own prejudice.

While changes in information were smaller in the Middle West than in the East, we nevertheless find that even the Midwestern group experienced a reduction of prejudice after reading the pamphlets. Although the change in the direction of more positive attitudes is twice as great in the East as in the Middle West, it is gratifying to note that a change occurred in spite of the strong resistance of the more prejudiced Western readers.

Deeply ingrained attitudes are generally hardly changed by a single exposure to a series of educational pamphlets. Moreover, there is some residual doubt as to the accuracy with which our projective test measures change. For these reasons we had supplemented the projective scale with the questionnaire indicating the student's willingness to participate in the UNESCO educational effort. It is more reasonable to expect specific changes relating to the expressed willingness to support a given program than general changes.

Moreover, if the willingness to support the UNESCO program expressed by the students had been acted upon, larger changes may have resulted not only because the participants would have been occupied with the race problem for a long time, but also because larger numbers of people could have been reached. Finally, this type of scale measuring the "action" or "motivational" component of attitudes is often considered as more significant than scales aiming at expressions of feeling and the cognitive component of attitudes.

Exposure to the pamphlets considerably increased the student's willingness to aid in the UNESCO intergroup relations program. For example, 37% of the students in the control group were willing to give money to help UNESCO's educational program compared to 61% of those in classes asked to read the pamphlets. The proportion of students willing to give time to work on the research program increased by 20%; the percentage of those who were willing to support a move persuading the college to make the pamphlets required reading in introductory social science courses by 28%.

The change was greater among the less prejudiced students and more pronounced in the East than in the Middle West. The highly prejudiced Midwestern students exposed to the pamphlets were decidedly less willing

to help in the program than those not exposed to the UNESCO material. They were, however, willing to aid in the research program, perhaps in order to find out "what is wrong" with the program. The reversal of the trend among the more highly prejudiced Midwestern students becomes understandable if we recall that this group also contained the largest number of students having a less positive attitude toward the United Nations. In contrast, we find in the East both among the low prejudice and the high prejudice group a greater willingness to support the program resulting from exposure to the pamphlets.

One may expect that the effect of the pamphlets on our Midwestern sample would have been more favorable if the introductions to the study had been done by persons more familiar with the work of the UNESCO and indentifying more with the project. The more widespread resistance of the Midwestern readers diminished the effectiveness of the booklets compared with our Eastern sample. On the other hand, it is important to remark in conclusion that even here, apart from a reduction in prejudice, the exposure to the pamphlets and the study had made students more familiar with the work of UNESCO and created more favorable attitudes toward the organization.

SOME TENTATIVE HYPOTHESES FOR FURTHER STUDY

The UNESCO study described in the preceding pages leads us to postulate a number of tentative hypotheses requiring further study.

1. In general, there is the possibility that disguised projective tests probing in depth may be more likely to measure changes accurately than undisguised attitude tests. At the beginning of an educational campaign there may be subtle unconscious changes which have not yet reached the level of awareness of the changer. Moreover, the changer may feel reluc-

tant to admit the occurrence of changing attitudes in order to avoid conflict with his group or because of personality factors.

2. While the effect of the UNESCO pamphlets among college students in the United States is relatively very limited, it does not follow that these pamphlets would not be more effective in countries (a) now possessing less knowledge about racial differences, and (b) where changes in attitude would lead to less conflict with a predominantly prejudiced in-group.
3. Information about the social and psychological causes of prejudice appears to be more effective than information about racial differences. The former type of information may provide a greater incentive toward change because such change is presented as beneficial for the adjustment of the prejudiced individual, and not seen as being primarily in the interest of the minorities.
4. While the study bore out previous researches indicating that the effectiveness of education (propaganda) is a function partially of prior attitudes toward the author of the sponsoring agency, it appears that the UNESCO publications led to greater exposure and more reading among the students less friendly to the U. N. who were trying to justify such negative attitudes.

The fact, however, that they find themselves in substantial agreement with the purposes leads to a more positive attitude toward the agency. In turn, it appears that such change in attitude may lead to further exposure to UNESCO pamphlets, greater willingness to participate in UNESCO sponsored programs, and probably a more receptive attitude toward UNESCO's work. Because of the possibility of such long-range effects of a prolonged educational campaign, mere negative attitudes toward the sponsoring agency should not cause the agency to become discouraged even if initial efforts are unsuccessful.

THE COMMON INTERESTS MYTH IN MARRIAGE *

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Substantial associations between reports by partners of interests in common and satisfaction in marriage have been found in samples of E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell (2), H. J. Locke (7) and L. M. Terman (9). Coefficients of association (Tschuprow's) between these reports and marital success range from .3 to .4 in two of these samples and Terman

gives coefficients of correlation of .45 and .56 for this relationship in the third sample.**

** Tschuprow's coefficient of association was determined by the present writer from the data published by Burgess and Cottrell, and by Locke, grouped in two by three or two by four tables. While this coefficient ranges from 0 to 1, its values are somewhat smaller (except for two by two tables) than the coefficient of correlation when both are computed from the same data. The writer estimated T from Terman's data to be approximately .4 for the relationship between common interests and marital happiness.

* A revision of a paper presented at a meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society in Cambridge, Mass., March 28, 1953.

Albert Ellis (5) has suggested that associations found between marital items and marital success may be spurious due to the tendency of subjects to exaggerate their replies to marital items in the same direction as they exaggerate their replies to satisfaction items on which the adjustment scores are based. This may mean that subjects over- or underrate their common interests at the same time as they over- or underrate their feelings of satisfaction with the marriage relationship, yielding an erroneous association of common interests with adjustment.

**TESTING THE VALIDITY OF
THE COMMON INTERESTS
BELIEF**

In the Burgess-Wallin sample (4) of 1000 engaged and 666 married couples, data were obtained which permit the validity of the belief that common interests exist to be estimated, data which have generously been made available to the writer by Burgess and Wallin for his analysis. The sample is made up predominantly of urban, college-educated persons willing to participate in the study. The writer employed from the Burgess-Wallin sample a group of 580 couples for whom

interest data were available at both engagement and marriage. The data involved consist of items on inventories of interests checked by partners independently of each other. The number of interests defined as mutual by this independent reporting can be compared with the statements made by subjects of interests in common.

The question about common interests in the engagement schedule reads: "Do you and your fiance (e) engage in interests and activities together?" This question apparently focuses on leisure time interests of engaged companionship, and the replies to it are tested against interests mutually checked on an inventory of "things you like to do or are interested in," most of the items on the inventory being leisure time activities. In the marriage schedule the question, "Do you and your wife (husband) engage in outside interests together?" is compared with an inventory of "things you may do in your leisure time." The test of the validity of the belief about common interests seems somewhat more direct for engaged subjects although in each comparison it applies primarily to leisure time interests. Both inventories include a number of home interests as well as outside interests.

**TABLE 1—Subject's Report of Interests Engaged in Together
Compared with Ratio of Mutual Interests
Divided by Individual Interests ***

Subject's Report	Engagement Comparison				Marriage Comparison			
	Subject's Ratio		Partner's Ratio		Subject's Ratio		Partner's Ratio	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Man reports:								
All	56	58	44	70	40	15	39	16
Most	201	202	140	263	203	164	217	150
Some, few or none	28	35	20	43	61	97	63	95
Woman reports:								
All	49	79	62	66	58	25	55	28
Most	144	259	203	200	206	165	196	175
Some, few or none	11	38	20	29	55	71	53	73

* As an added verification of these findings, the common interests belief of each partner was tested with engagement data against the number of times an interest was

reported by one subject but not the other. In one of these four comparisons an association, -11 , was found to be statistically significant.

The test consisted in: a) Computing for each partner the ratio of the number of mutual interests checked on inventories to the number of interests held individually, b) dividing subjects by the median ratio into those with high and low ratios,* and c) comparing the high and low groups with respect to reports of "all," "most," "some," "few," or "no" interests and activities engaged in together to determine the existence and degree of association. This test is not sufficiently exact for estimating validities near 1.0, but it appears adequate for determining whether the beliefs have substantial validity or not.

Table 1 contains the numerical distributions of replies obtained in the comparisons. As the data indicate, little or no relationship is found between the subject's belief about common interests and his interest ratio or the interest ratio of his partner. The coefficients of association for engaged couples are not significantly different from zero at the .01 level of significance. Failure to find a significant relationship in the sample does not mean that the relationship may not exist in the population from which the sample was drawn, but absence of finding with the size of sample employed does show that the relationship, if any, is slight.

On the marriage inventory the subjects not only list their interests but report for each interest whether that interest is mutually engaged in or participated in by the subject alone. It is of research concern to find out the validity of the general belief about common interests when this belief is tested against the separate enumeration of interests as mutual or individual. The marriage data in Table 1 are for this test. The ratio of mutual to individual interests counts an interest as mutual if both subjects call it mutual, and as individual if the subject

whose belief is tested says he participates in it alone. For this comparison the coefficient of association is .17 for the man's general belief tested against his ratio of mutual to individual interests, and .14 for the woman's belief compared with her ratio. The man's belief tested against the wife's ratio yields an association of .17, and the woman's belief against her husband's ratio gives an association of .13. The conclusion indicated by the Burgess-Wallin sample is that when people believe they have most or all leisure time or outside interests in common, their beliefs have low validity.

The question arises whether it is the validity of the list of items checked which is poor, rather than the validity of the general report tested by the list. Questionnaire research in other fields (8) indicates that specific items are reported with greater accuracy than general items which require the subject to exercise judgement in summarizing. Further light is shed upon validity of the Burgess-Wallin interest data by consideration of their reliability. If the items of inventories have low validity, the obvious reason would be the low reliability with which the inventories might be filled out by hurried respondents.

RELIABILITY OF INTEREST DATA

For the data cited in this paper the reliability of the general report about common interests given by one partner was tested with reference to the report given by the other. The common interest reports of partners were cross-tabulated, and the extent of agreement was measured by coefficients of association. These coefficients show reliability of belief to be .25 at engagement and .19 at marriage. Since validity cannot exceed reliability, it appears that validity of the belief must be low. The low validity may, in part, arise from the tendency of subjects to view commonness of interests according to individual standpoints. A comparison of partners' ratios of mutual interests divided by individual interests shows an association between the ratios of .21

* The subgroups are not equally divided at the median because the variables involved vary by discrete steps.

at engagement but such comparison fails to disclose significant association between the ratios of partners at marriage.

An idea of the reliability with which items are checked on the inventories may be gained by comparing the items checked as mutual by each partner. If reliability is high, these reports should agree. A cross-tabulation of the frequencies with which both check an item as mutual, one partner alone gives such report, and neither checks the item as mutual was made. The coefficient of association for this comparison is .58. This is a rather exacting test of reliability since each subject must not only correctly report the interest for himself but also for his partner in order for his statement of mutuality to agree with the statement of mutuality made by his partner. In comparing reasons for marrying checked on the engagement schedule with those checked approximately three years later on the marriage schedule, despite the influence of intervening experience, the coefficient of association for similarity of reply at the two different times is .61 for men and .67 for women. It therefore appears that the validity of the common interests belief may appropriately be tested against the numbers of interests checked on the inventories.

COMMON INTERESTS AND

ADJUSTMENT

The studies of Burgess and Cottrell, Terman, and Locke show positive asso-

ciations of .3 to .4 to exist between adjustment and the subject's belief that interests are held in common. What is the association between the actual number of mutual interests and adjustment? Again considering the groups of subjects with high and with low ratios of mutual to individual interests we may test the association of common interests with adjustment by determining whether the adjustment scores for the groups differ significantly.*

Data from the Burgess-Wallin sample (see Table 2) show little association between adjustment and amount of common interests checked on inventories. (1) The associations are not significantly different from zero in comparing the engagement ratio of mutual to individual interests with engagement adjustment. In considering engagement interests foreshadowing marriage adjustment, no significant associations are found between the man's engagement ratio and adjustment of either partner. Coefficients of .06 and .07 respectively are found between the woman's prior ratio and the adjustment of men and the adjustment of women.

For the marriage ratio of mutual to individual interests (mutual interests defined to exist if both partners call

* The adjustment scores employ satisfaction items and weights similar to those devised by Burgess and Cottrell and are separately computed for each partner.

TABLE 2 — Ratio of Mutual Interests Divided by Individual Interests Compared with Adjustment

Subject's Ratio	Engagement Ratio Compared with Engagement Adjustment				Engagement Ratio Compared with Marriage Adjustment				Marriage Ratio Compared with Marriage Adjustment			
	Subject's Adjustment		Partner's Adjustment		Subject's Adjustment		Partner's Adjustment		Subject's Adjustment		Partner's Adjustment	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Man:												
High ratio	111	174	112	173	172	123	132	163	193	111	143	16
Low ratio	111	184	119	176	171	114	123	162	150	126	112	18
Woman:												
High ratio	87	117	79	125	156	220	214	162	150	169	202	11
Low ratio	144	232	143	233	99	105	129	75	105	156	141	12

the interest mutual) compared with marriage adjustment, the coefficients are .09 for the man's ratio and his adjustment, and .06 for the man's ratio and the wife's adjustment. The coefficients are .07 for the woman's ratio compared with her adjustment, and .09 for her ratio and the husband's adjustment. Although statistically significant, these findings indicate a minor relationship between number of common interests and adjustment of partners. Evidently much more is involved than the quantity of mutual interests.

In the Burgess-Wallin sample the associations between adjustment and the subject's belief that most or all interests and activities are engaged in together are smaller than for preceding studies, being .20 and .17 for engaged men and women respectively, .20 and .18 for beliefs of married men and women that they participate in outside activities together, and .10 and .09 for engagement beliefs foreshadowing marriage adjustment.* A factor in these smaller associations may have been the appeal made by Burgess and Wallin to subjects "not to fall victim to a common human weakness, namely the tendency to put the best foot forward, the desire to make a good impression." Based upon general observation, as well as upon detailed enumeration, the number of common interests *per se* has a small relationship to the success of a marriage.

THE ROLE OF FAMILISM IN COMMON INTERESTS

In analyzing mutuality of interests one by one it is found that the type of interest is important in determining whether mutuality is favorably or unfavorably associated with adjustment. Locke (7) reports that mutuality of such interests as reading, radio, sports and music (activities which are "essentially those in the home or those which are subjected to considerable social control") is associated with happy marriage. He also reports that mutual enjoyment of drinking, of dancing, and of cards is associated with divorce in comparison with happy marriage. The basis for classifying an interest as mutual was that the subject felt it to be mutual rather than that both subjects checked the interest.

In studying the association between mutuality of an interest and adjustment in the Burgess-Wallin sample, an interest is regarded as mutual only if each partner independently records having the interest. For some general areas of interest, scores were compiled according to the number of items checked by the subject within the general area and subjects were classified according to whether they are higher or lower than median for the sample in their interest. Mutuality is then indicated by both partners having high scores for the interest.

The findings for mutuality of various interests from the Burgess-Wallin sample are given in Table 3. The upper part of the table contains interests which appear to be familistic in Le Play's sense of aiding family perpetuation or survival, and the lower part interests which are individualistic in the sense of non-familistic. The middle portion contains interests whose connection with familism or individualism is not clear from the questionnaire data available.

Some explanation may be needed for the classification of interests as familistic or individualistic. The data were not intrinsically designed for such classification, but the pattern of associations with marriage adjustment sug-

between belief and common. In the interests and adjustment the mutual interest of adjustment by itself is significant.

In a sample of associations between the amount of mutual interests and the number of mutual interests, the correlations are not zero in any of the four groups of mutual interests. The correlations with engagement are significant, and the correlations with adjustment are significant. The correlations with adjustment are significant, and the correlations with adjustment are significant.

Interest in the sample of associations between the number of mutual interests and the number of mutual interests, the correlations are not zero in any of the four groups of mutual interests. The correlations with engagement are significant, and the correlations with adjustment are significant.

Ratio of Marriage to Adjustment	Partners Adjusted	High Low
143	151	
112	166	
202	111	
141	121	

* These coefficients were computed for two by three groupings of data, the number of degrees of freedom not exceeding the number in corresponding computations for data of Burgess and Cottrell, and for data of Locke. The large proportion of respondents checking "most" as a subcategory suggests that the size of the coefficient of association may be affected by the uneven distribution. As a means of determining empirically what influence such distribution may have, T was computed in one of the comparisons with the subgroup replying "most" reduced proportionately to approximately the size of the other subgroups. T was then found to increase from .10 to .13, showing little change for association of the size existing in the data.

TABLE 3—Critical Ratios for Associations Between Mutual Interests of Engaged and Married Couples and Married Couples and Adjustment Scores

Interest Factor		Mutual Interest				Mutual Lack of Interest			
		Engagement adjustment (816 cases)		Marriage adjustment (650 cases)		Engagement adjustment (816 cases)		Marriage adjustment (650 cases)	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Home interest score higher than median	Situation in which interest is reported	Engagement	2.6	2.4	2.5	-2.5	-2.6	-2.8	-3.8
Home of one's own as a reason for marriage	Marriage	Engagement	2.0	3.4	2.6	—	—	-1.9	not est.
Quiet home life as one's wish in life	Engagement	4.0	3.2	2.5	1.8	-3.1	-4.0	-2.0	-2.2
Children interest score higher than median	Engagement	3.6	2.6	2.0	1.8	-2.9	-2.6	-2.6	-1.5
Children as a reason for marriage	Engagement	2.6	2.1	2.2	1.8	-2.2	-1.7	-1.6	-1.7
Religious interest score higher than median	Engagement	3.0	2.6	2.2	2.2	—	—	-1.7	-1.7
Romantic love as a reason for marriage	Engagement	2.7	2.7	4.0	-1.6	-2.4	—	1.5	1.5
Sexual relationship interest score higher than median	Engagement	2.4	1.9	2.6	1.6	4.2	—	-1.7	-1.7
Loneliness (desire for companionship) as a reason for marriage	Engagement	—	—	—	—	—	—	-2.6	-2.6
Commercial entertainment interest score higher than median (movies theatre, etc.)	Engagement	—	—	1.5	—	—	1.9	1.8	1.8
Spots participation higher than median	Engagement	—	—	1.5	—	—	1.6	1.6	2.9
Mobility interest score higher than median	Engagement	—	—	2.0	—	—	1.6	1.6	1.9
Travel as one's wish in life	Engagement	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.6	1.7
Good time or happiness as one's wish in life	Engagement	—	—	—	—	2.7	2.2	2.0	1.8
Make money as one's wish in life or comfort and ease as a reason for marriage	Engagement	-1.7	-2.0	-2.8	2.0	2.7	2.2	3.9	1.6
Travel as one's wish in life or status as one's wish in life or status as one's reason for marriage	Engagement	-1.8	-2.0	—	—	—	—	1.8	1.8

gests the desirability of such classification according to Le Play's hypotheses about family stability. (6)

Home and children probably will not be questioned as familistic interests. Religion was considered by Le Play to be a familistic attribute, and this seems tenable because of its traditional teachings concerning marital fidelity and family perpetuation.

Love, sexual relations of the couple, and companionship may or may not be familistic interests depending upon the interpretation which the couple place upon these. The data cited here show generally favorable associations for mutual interests in romantic love and sexual relations, and unfavorable associations for a mutual desire for companionship. If love and mutual sex desire imply fidelity of partners to each other, these are interests which promote familism. If companionship means a relationship the purpose of which is to enjoy individualistic interests, then companionship may be regarded as the polar concept of institutional loyalty (3).

Interests showing a desire for entertainment or diversion outside of the home or for the individualistic values of happiness, making money, or fame seem to be in competition with the aims of family perpetuation and survival. Le Play viewed urban values of individualism as inimical to family stability. Movies seem to fit the pattern of hypothesis under consideration because of the individualistic values usually appealed to by them. Question may be raised as to including sports interest in the table. If this interest is stronger than average, it may be regarded as individualistic.

Further research is needed for the proper definition of familistic and individualistic interests, and the pattern of associations in Table 3* is simply offered as strongly suggestive of conclusions which further research may more adequately confirm. Not all of the C.R.'s are significant in size. All interests tested which appear to be related to familism or individualism have been included in the table. In the aggre-

gate the pattern seems beyond statistical doubt. It appears that whether mutuality of interest is favorably associated with adjustment depends upon whether the interest is familistic or not. In any case, the more general hypothesis that the type of interest determines whether mutuality is favorable to marriage success is established for the sample analyzed.

Where an interest is familistic, is it better from the standpoint of adjustment for one partner to have it than neither? Where an interest is individualistic, is it preferable for both to have it or only one? If Le Play's hypothesis operates without qualification, then it would be more conducive to family success for one partner to have familistic interests than neither. For this particular comparison of subgroups the Burgess-Wallin data apparently fail to produce associations which are statistically significant in size. The failure to find statistically significant differences suggests that such differences, even if existent, are quite small. On the other hand, it was definitely found that if partners have mutual interests, it is statistically preferable for these to be familistic rather than individualistic interests, although the associations are not large enough to determine more than their direction.

Of possible relevance are two fragmentary and inconsistent findings. Comparing couples in which the man

* The critical ratios for the associations of mutual interests and adjustment were computed by comparing the mean adjustment score of subjects in the group mutually checking the interest with the mean adjustment score for remaining subjects in the sample. The same pattern of comparison was followed for subjects mutually lacking the interest. In comparing engagement interests with engagement adjustment, a sample of 876 couples for whom complete engagement data were available was used because of the greater sensitivity in detecting associations than if the sample of 580 couples for whom marriage data were also available had been used. This may be a reason why the pattern of associations is more fully shown for the engagement data, another reason being that data were not obtained for some of the individualistic interests at marriage.

alone is interested in home and children, with other couples, such configuration of interest was found to be unfavorable for the woman's adjustment. (1) For the woman alone to be interested in home and children is favorable for her engagement adjustment in comparison with remaining couples in the sample. Similar associations for the man's adjustment were not significant in size.

Upon the basis of the pattern of associations disclosed, the writer concludes that the familistic character of interests is a more fundamental factor in adjustment than mutuality of interests. Rather than ask "Do we both have the same interests?" prospective marriage partners may more appropriately ask "Do we both have familistic interests?"

This conclusion is supported by the finding that an aggregate score for interests classified as familistic is correlated with marital adjustment by approximately .25 (1), compared with a coefficient half this size for the correlation between number of mutual interests and adjustment. Obviously marital success is dependent upon much more than enumeration of interests either as familistic or mutual. Moreover, because familism is one important factor, it seems desirable for that reason for partners to inquire before marrying whether they agree in their ideas and responses for fulfilling familistic interests.

SUMMARY

In the Burgess-Wallin sample mutuality of interests was tabulated from inventories filled out by partners independently of each other. The relationship between the number of mutual interests and marital adjustment, and the relationship between this number and the feeling of partners that their interests are mutual were both found to be much smaller relationships than has generally been believed to be the case.

Mutuality of interests classified as familistic was found to be favorably related to adjustment, and mutuality of individualistic interests unfavorably related to adjustment.

The causal processes involved are not revealed by the associations reported here, nor has account been taken of such variables as the frequency or manner with which subjects pursue their interests. Further research to define more fully the role of familism in marital success is indicated.

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MARIHUANA USE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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When deviant behavior occurs in a society—behavior which flouts its basic values and norms—one element in its coming into being is a breakdown in social controls, those mechanisms which ordinarily operate to maintain valued forms of behavior. [In complex societies, the process is somewhat more complicated since breakdowns in social control are often the consequences of the person becoming a participant in a subculture whose controls operate at cross-purposes to those of the larger society.] Important factors in the genesis of deviant behavior, then, may be sought in those processes by which people are emancipated from the larger set of controls and become responsive to those of the subculture.

Social controls affect individual behavior, in the first instance, through the use of power, the application of sanctions. Valued behavior is rewarded and negatively valued behavior is punished. Control would be difficult to maintain if such enforcement were always needed, so that more subtle mechanisms performing the same function arise. Among these is the control of behavior achieved by affecting the conceptions persons have of the to-be-controlled activity, and of the possibility or feasibility of engaging in it. These conceptions arise in social situations in which they are communicated by persons regarded as reputable and validated in experience. Such situations may be so ordered that individuals come to conceive of the activity as distasteful, inexpedient, or immoral, and therefore do not engage in it.

Such a perspective invites us to analyze the genesis of deviant behavior in terms of events which render sanctions ineffective and experiences which shift conceptions so that the behavior becomes a conceivable possibility to the person. This paper is devoted to an analysis of this process in the instance of marihuana use. Its basic question is: what is the sequence of events and experiences by which a person comes to be able to carry on the use of marihuana, in spite of the elaborate social controls functioning to prevent such behavior?

A number of potent forces operate to control the use of marihuana in this country. The act is illegal and punishable by severe penalties. Its illegality makes access to the drug difficult, placing immediate obstacles before anyone who wishes to use it. Actual use can be dangerous, for arrest and imprisonment are always possible consequences. In addition, those who are discovered in their use of the drug by family, friends, or employers may be subject to various kinds of informal but highly effective sanctions and social punishments; ostracism, withdrawal of affection, etc. Finally, a set of traditional views have grown up, defining the practice as a violation of basic moral imperatives, as an act leading to loss of self-control, paralysis of the will, and eventual slavery to the drug. Such views are commonplace and are an effective force preventing marihuana use.

The development of marihuana-using activity in an individual may be divided into three stages, each representing a distinct shift in the person's relations to these social controls of the larger society and those of the subculture in which marihuana use is found. The first stage is represented by the *beginner*, the person smoking marihuana for the first time; the second, by the

* The research on which this paper is based was done while I was a member of the staff of the Chicago Narcotics Survey, a project done by the Chicago Area Project, Inc., under a grant from the National Mental Health Institute. I wish to thank Eliot Freidson, Erving Goffman, Anselm Strauss, and R. Richard Wohl for reading and commenting on an earlier version.

occasional user, whose use is sporadic and dependent on chance factors; and the third, by the *regular user*, for whom use becomes a systematic daily routine.]

The analysis will be pursued in terms of the processes by which the various kinds of social controls become progressively less effective as the user moves from level to level of use or, alternatively, the ways in which they prevent such movement by remaining effective. [The major kinds of controls to be considered are: (a) control through limiting of supply and access to the drug; (b) control through the necessity of keeping non-users from discovering that one is a user; (c) control through definition of the act as immoral. The rendering ineffective of these controls, at the levels and in the combinations to be described, may be taken as an essential condition for continued and increased marihuana use.]

One explanatory note is in order. It is obvious that people do not do things simply because they are not prevented from doing them. More positive motivations are necessarily present. This paper does not deal with the genesis of these positive motivations involved in the continuation and increase of marihuana use (except in passing), focusing rather on the barriers to use, and taking the motivation more or less for granted. I have described one important element in this motivation elsewhere. (2) This is the knowledge that one can gain pleasure by smoking marihuana, achieved in a process of learning to smoke the drug so that definite symptoms occur, learning to recognize these effects and connect them with the use of the drug, and learning to find these effects enjoyable. This learning takes place in interaction with more experienced users who present the novice with the necessary symbols and concepts with which to organize this otherwise vague and ambiguous experience. By and large, however, the motivation to continue use will, in this discussion, be taken for granted and emphasis placed on the breakdown of deterrents to this.

The analysis is based on fifty intensive interviews with marihuana users from a variety of social backgrounds and present positions in society.* The interviews focused on the history of the person's experience with the drug, seeking major changes in his attitude toward it and in his actual use of it and the reasons for these changes. Generalizations stating necessary conditions for the maintenance of use at each level were developed in initial interviews, and tested against and revised in the light of each succeeding one. The stated conclusions hold true for all the cases collected and may tentatively be considered as true of all marihuana users in this society, at least until further evidence forces their revision.**

SUPPLY

Marihuana use is limited, in the first instance, by laws making possession or sale of drug punishable by severe penalties. This confines its distribution to illicit sources which are not available to the ordinary person. [In order for a person to begin marihuana use, he must begin participation in some group through which these sources of supply become available to him, ordinarily a group organized around values and activities opposing those of the larger conventional society.]

In those unconventional circles in which marihuana is already used, it is apparently just a matter of time until a situation arises in which the newcomer is given a chance to smoke it:

I was with these guys that I knew from school, and one had some, so they went to get high and they just figured that I did too, they never asked me, so I didn't want to be no wallflower or nothin', so I didn't say nothin' and went out in the back of this place with them. They were doing up a couple of cigarettes.

* Most of the interviews were done by me. I wish to thank Solomon Korbin and Harold Finestone for allowing me to make use of interviews done by them.

** This is an application of the method of analytic induction described in (3)

In other groups marijuana is not immediately available, but participation in the group provides connections to others in which it is:

But the thing was, we didn't know where to get any. None of us knew where to get it or how to find out where to get it. Well, there was this one chick there . . . she had some spade girl friends and she had turned on before with them. Maybe once or twice. But she knew a little more about it than any of the rest of us. So she got hold of some, through these spade friends, and one night she brought down a couple of sticks.

In either case, such participation provides the conditions under which marijuana becomes available for first use. It also provides the conditions for the next level of *occasional use*, in which the individual smokes marijuana sporadically and irregularly. When an individual has arrived through earlier experiences at a point where he is able to use marijuana for pleasure, use tends at first to be a function of availability. The person uses the drug when he is with others who have a supply; when this is not the case his use ceases. It tends therefore to fluctuate in terms of the conditions of availability created by his participation with other users; a musician at this stage of use said:

That's mostly when I get high, is when I play jobs. And I haven't played hardly at all lately . . . See, I'm married twelve years now, and I really haven't done much since then. I had to get a day job, you know, and I haven't been able to play much. I haven't had many gigs, so I really haven't turned on much, you see.

Like I say, the only time I really get on is if I'm working with some cats who do, then I will too. Like I say, I haven't been high for maybe six months. I haven't turned on in all that time. Then, since I come on this job, that's three weeks, I've been high every Friday and Saturday. That's the way it goes with me.

(This man was observed over a period of weeks to be completely dependent on other members of the orchestra in which he worked and on musicians who dropped into the tavern in which he was playing for any marijuana he used.)

If an occasional user begins to move on toward a more regularized and systematic mode of use, he can do it only by finding some more stable source

of supply than more-or-less chance encounters with other users, and this means establishing connections with persons who make a business of dealing in narcotics. Although purchases in large quantities are necessary for regular use, they are not ordinarily made with that intent; but, once made, they do render such use possible, as it was not before. Such purchases tend to be made as the user becomes more responsive to the controls of the drug-using group:

I was running around with this whole crowd of people who turned on then. And they were always turning me on, you know, until it got embarrassing. I was really embarrassed that I never had any, that I couldn't reciprocate . . . So I asked around where I could get some and picked up for the first time.

Also, purchasing from a dealer is more economical, since there are no middlemen and the purchaser of larger quantities receives, as in the ordinary business world, a lower price.

However, in order to make these purchases, the user must have a "connection"—know someone who makes a business of selling drugs. These dealers operate illicitly, and in order to do business with them one must know where to find them and be identified to them in such a way that they will not hesitate to make a sale. This is quite difficult for persons who are very casually involved in drug-using groups. But as a person becomes more identified with these groups, and is considered more trustworthy, the necessary knowledge and introductions to dealers become available to him. In becoming defined as a member, one is also defined as a person who can safely be trusted to buy drugs without endangering anyone else.

Even when the opportunity is made available to them, many do not make use of it. The danger of arrest latent in such an act prevents them from attempting it:

If it were freely distributed, I think that I would probably keep it on hand all the time. But . . . (You mean if it wasn't against the law?) Yeah. (Well,

so does that mean that you don't want to get involved . . .) Well, I don't want to get too involved, you know. I don't want to get too close to the people who traffic in, rather heavily in it. I've never had any difficulty much in getting any stuff. I just . . . someone usually has some and you can get it when you want it. Why, just why, I've never happened to run into those more or less direct contacts, the pushers, I suppose you'd explain it on the basis of the fact that I never felt the need for scrounging or looking up one.

Such fears operate only so long as the attempt is not made, for once it has been successfully accomplished the individual is able to use the experience to revise his estimate of the danger involved; the notion of danger no longer prevents purchase. Instead, the act is approached with a realistic caution which recognizes without overemphasizing the possibility of arrest. The purchaser feels safe so long as he observes elementary, commonsense precautions. Although many of the interviewees had made such purchases, only a few reported any difficulty of a legal kind and these attributed it to the failure to take such precautions.

For those who do establish such connections, regular use is often interrupted by the arrest or disappearance of the man from whom they purchase their supply. In such circumstances, regular use can continue only if the user is able to find a new source of supply. This young man had to give up use for a while when:

Well, like Tom went to jail, they put him in jail. Then Cramer, how did it happen . . . Oh yeah, like I owed him some money and I didn't see him for quite a while and when I did try to see him he had moved and I couldn't find out from anyone where the cat went. So that was that connection . . . (So you just didn't know where to get it?) No. (So you stopped?) Yeah.

This instability of sources of supply is an important control over regular use, and reflects indirectly the use of legal sanctions by the community in the arrest of those trafficking in drugs. The enforcement of the law controls use by making access more difficult because of this instability of sources, rather

than through its acting as a direct deterrent to users.

Each level of use, from beginning to routine, thus has its typical mode of supply, which must be present for such use to occur. In this sense, the social mechanisms which operate to limit availability of the drug limit its use. However, participation in groups in which marihuana is used creates the conditions under which these controls which limit access to it no longer operate. Such participation also involves increased sensitivity to the controls of the drug-using group, so that there are forces pressing toward use of the new sources of supply. Changes in the mode of supply in turn create the conditions for movement to a new level of use. Consequently, it may be said that changes in group participation and membership lead to changes in level of use by affecting the individual's access to marihuana under present conditions in which the drug is available only through illicit outlets.

SECRET

Marihuana use is limited also to the extent that individuals actually find it inexpedient or believe that they will find it so. This inexpediency, real or presumed, arises from the fact or belief that if non-users discover that one uses the drug, sanctions of some important kind will be applied. The user's conception of these sanctions is vague, because few of them seem ever to have had such an experience or to have known anyone who did. Although he does not know what specifically to expect in the way of punishments, the outlines are clear: he fears repudiation by people whose respect and acceptance he requires both practically and emotionally. That is, he expects that his relationships with non-users will be disturbed and disrupted if they should find out, and limits and controls his behavior accordingly.

This kind of control breaks down in the course of the user's participation with other users and in the development of his experience with the drug,

as he comes to realize that, though it might be true that sanctions would be applied if non-users found out, they need never find out. At each level of use, there is a growth in this realization which makes the new level possible.

For the beginner, these considerations are very important and must be overcome if use is to be undertaken at all. These fears are challenged by the sight of others—more experienced users—who apparently feel there is little or no danger and appear to engage in the activity with impunity. If one does "try it once," he may still his fears by observations of this kind. Participation with other users thus furnishes the beginner with the rationalizations with which first to attempt the act.

Further participation in the marijuana use of these groups allows the novice to draw the further conclusion that the act can be safe no matter how often indulged in, as long as one is careful and makes sure that non-users are not present or likely to intrude. This kind of perspective is a necessary prerequisite for occasional use, in which the drug is used when other users invite one to join them. While it permits this level of use, such a perspective does not allow regular use to occur for the worlds of user and non-user, while separate to a degree allowing the occasional use pattern to persist, are not completely segregated. The points where these worlds meet appear dangerous to the occasional user who must, therefore, confine his use to those occasions on which such meeting does not seem likely.

Regular use, on the other hand, implies a systematic and routine use of the drug which does not take into account such possibilities and plan periods of "getting high" around them. It is a mode of use which depends on another kind of attitude toward the possibility of non-users finding out, the attitude that marijuana use can be carried on under the noses of non-users, or, alternatively, on the living of a

pattern of social participation which reduces contacts with non-users almost to the zero point. Without this adjustment in attitude, participation, or both, the user is forced to remain at the level of occasional use. These adjustments take place in terms of two categories or risks involved: First, that non-users will discover marijuana in one's possession and second, that one will be unable to hide the effects of the drug when he is "high" while with non-users.

The difficulties of the would-be regular user, in terms of possession, are illustrated in the remarks of a young man who unsuccessfully attempted regular use while living with his parents:

I never did like to have it around the house, you know. (Why?) Well, I thought maybe my mother might find it or something like that. (What do you think she'd say?) Oh, well, you know, like . . . well, they never do mention it, you know, anything about dope addicts or anything like that but it would be a really bad thing in my case, I know, because of the big family I come from. And my sisters and brothers, they'd put me down the worst. (And you don't want that to happen?) No, I'm afraid not.

In such cases, envisioning the consequences of such a secret being discovered prevents the person from maintaining the supply essential to regular use. Use remains erratic; since it must depend on encounters with other users and cannot occur whenever the user desires.

Unless he discovers some method of overcoming this difficulty, the person can progress to regular use only when the relationship deterring use is broken. People do not ordinarily leave their homes and families in order to smoke marijuana regularly. But if they do, for whatever reason, regular use, heretofore proscribed, becomes a possibility. Confirmed regular users often take into very serious account the effect on their drug use of forming new social relationships with non-users:

I wouldn't marry someone who would be belligerent if I do (smoke mari-

so does that mean that you don't want to get involved . . .) Well, I don't want to get too involved, you know. I don't want to get too close to the people who traffic in, rather heavily in it. I've never had any difficulty much in getting any stuff. I just . . . someone usually has some and you can get it when you want it. Why, just why, I've never happened to run into those more or less direct contacts, the pushers, I suppose you'd explain it on the basis of the fact that I never felt the need for scrounging or looking up one.

Such fears operate only so long as the attempt is not made, for once it has been successfully accomplished the individual is able to use the experience to revise his estimate of the danger involved; the notion of danger no longer prevents purchase. Instead, the act is approached with a realistic caution which recognizes without overemphasizing the possibility of arrest. The purchaser feels safe so long as he observes elementary, commonsense precautions. Although many of the interviewees had made such purchases, only a few reported any difficulty of a legal kind and these attributed it to the failure to take such precautions.

For those who do establish such connections, regular use is often interrupted by the arrest or disappearance of the man from whom they purchase their supply. In such circumstances, regular use can continue only if the user is able to find a new source of supply. This young man had to give up use for a while when:

Well, like Tom went to jail, they put him in jail. Then Cramer, how did it happen . . . Oh yeah, like I owed him some money and I didn't see him for quite a while and when I did try to see him he had moved and I couldn't find out from anyone where the cat went. So that was that connection . . . (So you just didn't know where to get it?) No. (So you stopped?) Yeah.

This instability of sources of supply is an important control over regular use, and reflects indirectly the use of legal sanctions by the community in the arrest of those trafficking in drugs. The enforcement of the law controls use by making access more difficult because of this instability of sources, rather

than through its acting as a direct deterrent to users.

Each level of use, from beginning to routine, thus has its typical mode of supply, which must be present for such use to occur. In this sense, the social mechanisms which operate to limit availability of the drug limit its use. However, participation in groups in which marihuana is used creates the conditions under which these controls which limit access to it no longer operate. Such participation also involves increased sensitivity to the controls of the drug-using group, so that there are forces pressing toward use of the new sources of supply. Changes in the mode of supply in turn create the conditions for movement to a new level of use. Consequently, it may be said that changes in group participation and membership lead to changes in level of use by affecting the individual's access to marihuana under present conditions in which the drug is available only through illicit outlets.

SECRET

Marihuana use is limited also to the extent that individuals actually find it inexpedient or believe that they will find it so. This inexpediency, real or presumed, arises from the fact or belief that if non-users discover that one uses the drug, sanctions of some important kind will be applied. The user's conception of these sanctions is vague, because few of them seem ever to have had such an experience or to have known anyone who did. Although he does not know what specifically to expect in the way of punishments, the outlines are clear: he fears repudiation by people whose respect and acceptance he requires both practically and emotionally. That is, he expects that his relationships with non-users will be disturbed and disrupted if they should find out, and limits and controls his behavior accordingly.

This kind of control breaks down in the course of the user's participation with other users and in the development of his experience with the drug,

as he comes to realize that, though it might be true that sanctions would be applied if non-users found out, they need never find out. At each level of use, there is a growth in this realization which makes the new level possible.

For the beginner, these considerations are very important and must be overcome if use is to be undertaken at all. These fears are challenged by the sight of others—more experienced users—who apparently feel there is little or no danger and appear to engage in the activity with impunity. If one does "try it once," he may still his fears by observations of this kind. Participation with other users thus furnishes the beginner with the rationalizations with which first to attempt the act.

Further participation in the marihuana use of these groups allows the novice to draw the further conclusion that the act can be safe no matter how often indulged in, as long as one is careful and makes sure that non-users are not present or likely to intrude. This kind of perspective is a necessary prerequisite for occasional use, in which the drug is used when other users invite one to join them. While it permits this level of use, such a perspective does not allow regular use to occur for the worlds of user and non-user, while separate to a degree allowing the occasional use pattern to persist, are not completely segregated. The points where these worlds meet appear dangerous to the occasional user who must, therefore, confine his use to those occasions on which such meeting does not seem likely.

Regular use, on the other hand, implies a systematic and routine use of the drug which does not take into account such possibilities and plan periods of "getting high" around them. It is a mode of use which depends on another kind of attitude toward the possibility of non-users finding out, the attitude that marihuana use can be carried on under the noses of non-users, or, alternatively, on the living of a

pattern of social participation which reduces contacts with non-users almost to the zero point. Without this adjustment in attitude, participation, or both, the user is forced to remain at the level of occasional use. These adjustments take place in terms of two categories or risks involved: First, that non-users will discover marihuana in one's possession and second, that one will be unable to hide the effects of the drug when he is "high" while with non-users.

The difficulties of the would-be regular user, in terms of possession, are illustrated in the remarks of a young man who unsuccessfully attempted regular use while living with his parents:

I never did like to have it around the house, you know. (Why?) Well, I thought maybe my mother might find it or something like that. (What do you think she'd say?) Oh, well, you know, like . . . well, they never do mention it, you know, anything about dope addicts or anything like that but it would be a really bad thing in my case, I know, because of the big family I come from. And my sisters and brothers, they'd put me down the worst. (And you don't want that to happen?) No, I'm afraid not.

In such cases, envisioning the consequences of such a secret being discovered prevents the person from maintaining the supply essential to regular use. Use remains erratic; since it must depend on encounters with other users and cannot occur whenever the user desires.

Unless he discovers some method of overcoming this difficulty, the person can progress to regular use only when the relationship deterring use is broken. People do not ordinarily leave their homes and families in order to smoke marihuana regularly. But if they do, for whatever reason, regular use, heretofore proscribed, becomes a possibility. Confirmed regular users often take into very serious account the effect on their drug use of forming new social relationships with non-users:

I wouldn't marry someone who would be belligerent if I do (smoke mari-

huana), you know. I mean, I wouldn't marry a woman who would be so untrusting as to think I would do something . . . I mean, you know, like hurt myself or try to hurt someone.

If such attachments are formed, use tends to revert to the occasional level:

(This man had used marihuana quite intensively but his wife objected to it.) Of course, largely the reason I cut off was my wife. There were a few times when I'd feel like . . . didn't actually crave for it but would just like to have had some. (He was unable to continue using the drug except irregularly, on those occasions when he was away from his wife's presence and control.)

If the person moves almost totally into the user group, the problem ceases in many respects to exist, and it is possible for regular use to occur except when some new connection with the more conventional world is made.

If a person uses marihuana regularly and routinely it is almost inevitable—since even in urban society such roles cannot be kept completely separate—that he one day find himself "high" while in the company of non-users from whom he wishes to keep his marihuana use secret. Given the variety of symptoms the drug may produce, it is natural for the user to fear that he might reveal through his behavior that he is "high", that he might be unable to control the symptoms and thus give away his own secret. Such phenomena as difficulty in focusing one's attention and in carrying on normal conversation create a fear that everyone will know exactly why one is behaving in this way, that the behavior will be interpreted automatically as a sign of drug use.

Those who progress to regular use manage to avoid this dilemma. It may happen, as noted above, that they come to participate almost completely in the subcultural group in which the practice is carried on, so that they simply have a minimal amount of contact with non-users about whose opinions they care. Since this isolation from conventional society is seldom complete, the user must learn another method of avoiding the dilemma, one which is the most important method

for those whose participation is never so completely segregated. This consists in learning to control the drug's effects while in the company of non-users, so that they can be fooled and the secret successfully kept even though one continues participation with them. If one cannot learn this, there exists some group of situations in which he dare not get "high" and regular use is not possible:

Say, I'll tell you something that just kills me, man, I mean it's really terrible. Have you ever got high and than had to face your family? I really dread that. Like having to talk to my father or mother, or brothers, man, it's just too much. I just can't make it. I just feel like they're sitting there digging (watching) me, and they know I'm high. It's a horrible feeling. I hate it.

Most users have these feelings and move on to regular use, if they do, only if an experience of the following order occurs, changing their conception of the possibilities of detection:

(Were you making it much then, at first?) No, not too much. Like I said, I was a little afraid of it. But it was finally about 1948 that I really began to make it strong. (What were you afraid of?) Well, I was afraid that I would get high and not be able to op (operate), you dig, I mean, I was afraid to let go and see what would happen. Especially on jobs. I couldn't trust myself when I was high. I was afraid I'd get too high, and pass out completely, or do stupid things. I didn't want to get too wiggled.

(How did you ever get over that?) Well, it's just one of those things, man. One night I turned on and I just suddenly felt real great, relaxed, you know, I was really swinging with it. From then on I've just been able to smoke as much as I want without getting into any trouble with it. I can always control it.

The typical experience is one in which the user finds himself in a position where he must do something while he is "high" that he is quite sure he cannot do in that condition. To his surprise, he finds that he can do it and can hide from others the fact that he is under the drug's influence. One or more occurrences of this kind allow the user to conclude that his caution has been excessive and based on a false premise. If he desires to use the

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drug regularly he is no longer deterred by this fear, for he can use such an experience to justify the belief that non-users need never know:

(The suggestion was made that many users find it difficult to perform their work tasks effectively while high. The interviewee, a machinist, replied with the story of how he got over this barrier.)

It doesn't bother me that way. I had an experience once that proved that to me. I was out on a pretty rough party the night before. I got pretty high. On pot (marijuana) and lushing, too. I got so high that I was still out of my mind when I went to work the next day. And I had a very important job to work on. It had to be practically perfect—precision stuff. The boss had been priming me for it for days, explaining how to do it and everything.

(He went to work high and, as far as he could remember, must have done the job, although there was no clear memory of it since he was still quite high.)

About a quarter to four, I finally came down and I thought, "Jesus! What am I doing?" So I just cut out and went home. I didn't sleep all night hardly, worrying about whether I had f...ked up on that job or not. I got down the next morning, the boss puts the old "mikes" on the thing, and I had done the f...kin' job perfectly. So after that I just didn't worry any more. I've gone down to work really out of my mind on some mornings. I don't have any trouble at all.

This problem is not equally important for all users, for there are those whose social participation is such that it cannot arise; all their associates know they use marihuana and none of them care, while their conventional contacts are few and unimportant. In addition, some persons achieve idiosyncratic solutions which allow them to act "high" and have it ignored:

They (the boys in his neighborhood) can never tell if I'm high. I usually am, but they don't know it. See, I always had the reputation, all through high school, of being kind of goofy, so no matter what I do, nobody pays much attention. So I can get away with being high practically anywhere.

In short, persons limit their use of marihuana in proportion to the degree of their fear, realistic or otherwise, that non-users who are important to them will discover that they use drugs and react in some punishing way. This kind of control breaks down as the

user discovers that his fears are excessive and unrealistic, as he comes to conceive of the practice as one which can be kept secret with relative ease. Each level of use can occur only when the person has revised his conception of the dangers involved in such a way as to allow it.]

MORALITY

This section discusses the role of conventional notions of morality as a means through which marihuana use is controlled. The basic moral imperatives which operate here are those which require the individual to be responsible for his own welfare, and to be able to control his behavior rationally. The stereotype of the dope fiend portrays a person who violates these imperatives. A recent description of the marihuana user illustrates the principal features of this stereotype:

In the earliest stages of intoxication the will power is destroyed and inhibitions and restraints are released; the moral barricades are broken down and often debauchery and sexuality result. Where mental instability is inherent, the behavior is generally violent. An egotist will enjoy delusions of grandeur, the timid individual will suffer anxiety, and the aggressive one often will resort to acts of violence and crime. Dormant tendencies are released and while the subject may know what is happening, he has become powerless to prevent it. Constant use produces an incapacity for work and a disorientation of purpose. (1)

One must add to this, of course, the notion that the user becomes a slave to the drug, that he voluntarily surrenders himself to a habit from which there is no escape. The person who takes such a stereotype seriously is presented with a serious obstacle to drug use. Use will ordinarily be begun, maintained and increased only when some other way of viewing the practice is accepted by the individual.

The beginner has at some time shared these views. In the course of his participation in some unconventional segment of society, however, he is likely to acquire a more "emancipated" view of the moral standards implicit in this characterization of the drug user, at least to the point that he

will not reject activities out of hand simply because they are conventionally condemned. The observation of others using the drug may further tempt him to apply his rejection of conventional standards to the specific instance of marihuana use. Such participation, then, tends to provide the conditions under which these controls can be circumvented at least sufficiently for first use to be attempted.

In the course of further experience in these groups, the novice acquires a whole series of rationalizations and justifications with which he may answer objections to occasional use if he decides to engage in it. If he should raise himself the objections of conventional morality he finds ready answers available in the folklore of marihuana using groups.

One of the most common rationalizations is that conventional persons indulge in much more harmful practices and that a comparatively minor vice like marihuana smoking cannot really be wrong when such things as the use of alcohol are so commonly accepted:

(You don't dig (like) alcohol then?) No, I don't dig it at all. (Why not?) I don't know. I just don't. Well, see, here's the thing. Before I was at the age where kids start drinking I was already getting on (using marihuana) and I saw the advantages of getting on, you know, I mean there was no sickness and it was much cheaper. That was one of the first things I learned, man. Why do you want to drink? Drinking is dumb, you know. It's so much cheaper to get on and you don't get sick, and it's not sloppy and takes less time. And it just grew to be the thing, you know. So I got on before I drank, you know....

(What do you mean that's one of the first things you learned?) Well, I mean, as I say, I was just first starting to play jobs as a musician when I got on and I was also in a position to drink on the jobs, you know. And these guys just told me it was silly to drink. They didn't drink either.

Additional rationalizations enable the user to suggest to himself that the drug's effects, rather than being harmful, are in fact beneficial:

I have had some that made me feel like . . . very invigorated and also it gives

a very strong appetite. It makes you very hungry. That's probably good for some people who are underweight.

Finally, the user, at this point, is not using the drug all the time. His use is scheduled, there being times when he considers it appropriate and times when he does not. The fact of this schedule allows him to assure himself that he controls the drug, rather than the drug controlling him, and becomes a symbol of the harmlessness of the practice. He does not consider himself a slave to the drug, because he can and does abide by this schedule, regardless of the amount of use the particular schedule may allow. The fact that there are times when he does not, on principle, use the drug, can be used as proof to himself of his freedom with respect to it.

I like to get on and mostly do get on when I'm relaxing, doing something I enjoy like listening to a real good classical record or maybe like a movie or something like that or listening to a radio program. Something I enjoy doing, not participating in, like . . . I play golf during the summer, you know, and a couple of guys I play with got on, turned on while they were playing golf and I couldn't see that because, I don't know, when you're participating in something you want your mind to be on that and nothing else, and if you're . . . because I think, I know it makes you relax and . . . I don't think you can make it as well.

Occasional use can occur in an individual who accepts these views, for he has reorganized his moral notions in such a way as to permit it, primarily by acquiring the conceptions that conventional moral notions about drugs do not apply to this drug and that, in any case, his use of it has not become excessive.

If use progresses to the point of becoming regular and systematic, these questions may again be raised for the user, for he begins now to look, to himself as well as others, like the uncontrolled "dope fiend" of popular mythology. He must convince himself again, if use is to continue at this level that he has not crossed this line. The problem, and one possible resolution, are presented in this statement by a regular user:

I know it isn't habit forming but I was a little worried about how easy it would be to put down, so I tried it. I was smoking it all the time, then I just put it down for a whole week to see what would happen. Nothing happened. So I knew it was cool (alright). Even since then I've used it as much as I want to. Of course, I wouldn't dig being a slave to it or anything like that, but I don't think that that would happen unless I was neurotic or something, and I don't think I am, not to that extent.

The earlier rationalization with regard to the beneficial effects of the drug remain unchanged and may even undergo a considerable elaboration. But the question raised in the last quotation proves more troublesome. In view of his increased and regularized consumption of the drug, the user is not sure that he is really able to control, that he has not possibly become the slave of a vicious habit. Tests are made—use is given up and the consequences awaited—and when nothing untoward occurs, the user is able to draw the conclusion that there is nothing to fear.

The problem is, however, more difficult for some of the more sophisticated users who derive their moral directives not so much from conventional thinking as from popular psychiatric "theory." Their use troubles them, not in conventional terms, but because of what it may indicate about their mental health. Accepting current thinking about the causes of drug use, they reason that no one would use drugs in any large amounts unless "something" were "wrong" with him, unless there were some neurotic maladjustment which made drugs necessary.

The fact of marihuana smoking becomes a symbol of psychic weakness and, ultimately, moral weakness. This prejudices the person against further regular use and causes a return to occasional use unless some new rationale is discovered.

Well, I wonder if the best thing is not to get on anything at all. That's what they tell you. Although I've heard psychiatrists say, "Smoke all the pot (marijuana) you want, but leave the horse (heroin) alone."

(Well, that sounds reasonable.) Yeah, but how many people can do it? There

aren't very many . . . I think that seventy-five percent or maybe even a bigger percent of the people that turn on have a behavior pattern that would lead them to get on more and more pot to get more and more away from things. I think I have it myself. But I think I'm aware of it so I think I can fight it.

The notion that to be aware of the problem is to solve it constitutes such a rationale in the above instance. Where such justifications cannot be discovered, use continues on an occasional basis, the user explaining his reasons in terms of his conception of psychiatric theory:

Well, I believe that people who indulge in narcotics and alcohol and drinks, any stimulants of that type, on that level, are probably looking for an escape from a more serious condition than the more or less occasional user. I don't feel that I'm escaping from anything. I think that, however, I realize that I have a lot of adjustment to accomplish yet . . . So I can't say that I have any serious neurotic condition or inefficiency that I'm trying to handle. But in the case of some acquaintances I've made, people who are chronic alcoholics or junkies (opiate addicts) or pretty habitual smokers, I have found accompanying that condition some maladjustment in their personality, too.

[Certain morally toned conceptions about the nature of drug use and drug users thus influence the marihuana user. If he is unable to explain away or ignore these conceptions, use will not occur at all, and the degree of use appears to be related to the degree to which these conceptions no longer are influential, having been replaced by rationalizations and justifications current among users.]

DISCUSSION

The extent of an individual's use of marihuana is at least partly dependent on the degree to which conventional social controls fail to prevent his engaging in the activity. Apart from other possible necessary conditions, it may be said that marihuana use can occur at the various levels described only when the necessary events and shifts in conception of the activity have removed the individual from the influence of these controls and substituted for them the controls of the subcultural group.

This kind of analysis seems to put some experiential flesh on the bare bones of the contention that the assumption of roles in a deviant subculture accounts for deviant behavior. There is, of course, a close relationship between the two. But a good deal of theoretical and practical difficulty is avoided by introducing an intervening process of change in social participation and individual conception made possible, but not inevitable by subcultural membership, and which becomes itself the explanatory factor. In this way, the element of truth in the simpler statement is conserved while the difficulties posed by those who participate in such groups without engaging in the deviant behavior are obviated. For such membership only provides the possibility, not the necessity, of having those experiences which will produce the behavior. The analysis may be made finer by then considering those contingencies which tend to determine whether or not the member of such a group actually has the necessary experiences.

Such a view necessarily implies the general hypothesis, of some interest to students of culture and personality,

that the holding of a social position, in and of itself, cannot be considered to explain an individual's behavior. Rather, the analysis of behavior must take account of social roles in a more subtle fashion, by asking what possibilities of action and what experiences which might shape the individual's appreciation and tendency to make use of those possibilities are provided by a given role. Such a viewpoint continues to insist on the analytic importance of the role concept, which calls our attention to the patterning of an individual's experience by the position which he holds in an organized social group, but adds to this an emphasis on the experience itself as it shapes conduct and the process by which this shaping occurs.

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THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST AS RESEARCH ENTREPRENEUR: A CASE STUDY*

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It is only twenty-five years ago that J. Franklin Jameson wrote in the *American Historical Review*:

Research in the physical sciences is perhaps more certain to be directed toward useful ends than research in humanistic fields, because the former is most commonly carried on in organized laboratories, where consultation is almost inevitable and a consensus of opinion as to what is worthwhile is easily formed, and has its effects on the investigator, where-

as in most humanistic and social subjects the researcher can work in comparative isolation. (1, p. 17)

Although comprehensive and comparable statistical data on the growth of social science research are non-existent, this statement seems awkwardly anachronistic in an age of applied social science and organized research groups. To illustrate this general trend: Ogg reports that the government disbursed practically no funds for social research twenty-five years ago, whereas in 1952, eleven million dollars was spent on psychological research alone. (1) The

* A version of a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society held at Urbana, Illinois, September 8-10, 1954.

universities of California, Chicago, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and Cornell spent less for social research in 1927 than the annual budget for the research organization under study here. The National Science Foundation estimates three hundred million dollars were spent on the life sciences and social science in 1953. Among the factors which have induced the promotion of large scale programmatic research are: the increased specialization of the social disciplines which has created a need for interdisciplinary and team research; the magnitude of world problems; the usefulness of social science findings for policy makers; and the availability of large sums of money by foundations and the United States government. Clearly we have gone from the ivory tower to the organizational maze.

These developments have created sweeping changes in the structure of social research. A new type of intellectual organization is emerging, replete with big budgets and growing pains of managerial responsibilities. All this implies a revolution in social science methodology, itself—in the sense that methodology states the rules by which knowledge is advanced. And when a project is undertaken by a group rather than an individual, methodologically appropriate rules of social behavior need to be found and formulated. Thus, it behoves the social science research organization to be aware of the sociological aspects of the methods it uses. From the beginning sensitivity to this need existed in the organization under study. The Director and other officers felt that more careful and rigorous attention was required than could be realized through the medium of staff meetings. For this reason they sought a social scientist as observer, one who would not be involved in the organization's work, but who would observe and record facts about the social processes which had a bearing on its research effectiveness. Taking this step obviously re-

quires courage because, as in the present instance, not only does the organization hear about itself, but our social science ethics require that all other social scientists should hear about it too.

The purpose of this paper is to describe some of the problems faced in this type of organization, and secondly, to note, as a function of this new and complex organization, the changing social role of the social scientist. (3). This paper is based on a larger study of a social science research group on which data were collected over a twelve month period, chiefly by interviewing, observation, and questionnaires.

A word or two about the organization. The Hub (a pseudonym) is located at a large university, under the jurisdiction of the College of Social Studies and equivalent to a Department. Its growth was spurred: (a) to strengthen the social sciences at the university; and (b) to offer social scientists the opportunity to influence the nature of our foreign policy by tackling problems of major interest to the Federal Government. Hence its main activity centers around international affairs and economic development. The Hub is directed by an eminent economist, a member of the economics department of the University. Due to the great amount of economic research there are many inter-relationships between the Economics Department and the Hub; e.g. some appointments are actually made by the Economics Department, and some Hub personnel teach courses for the Department. The total number of workers is about eighty-five, twelve equivalent to full or associate professors, twenty-six research associates, twenty research assistants (chiefly graduate students), twenty-two secretaries, and four administrative assistants.

There are three main strands of research: (a) a Development Program examining three countries with contrasting geographical and economic environments. Each country-project maintains its own staff at the Hub and

one project has a staff of nine anthropologists in the field. With the exception of the anthropologists, three political scientists and one historian, the professional orientation of the workers is economics (b) a Communications Program studying the "interaction of words, impressions, and ideas which affect the attitudes and behavior of different peoples toward each other." This project is directed by a political scientist with a strong interdisciplinary bent and includes two social psychologists, one sociologist, one journalist, one political scientist, one psycholinguist, and one economist. (c) There is finally a broad government program dealing with classified contract research, which will not be discussed here.

THE MARKET STRUCTURE OF ACADEMIC GOODS

Of the two projects under discussion, Communications and Development, the former has been established with a four year foundation grant, while the latter has been awarded a foundation grant on a year-to-year basis. Usually one does not think of knowledge and research findings in terms of the pricing mechanism, but it does serve as a useful guide in understanding the difficulties of organized research. The Development project was threatened by the yearly scrutiny of the Foundation, and consequently, an annual bout with uncertainty. For the past two years the Foundation has not announced the grant until the end of May. While the Communications staff is aware of the Foundation's power, the Development personnel see the Foundation as a towering, overshadowing Moloch. Each year, during the past two years, with growing intensity from January to May, the payoff question raised by the Development personnel has been, "will the funds come through?" More indirectly, "what does the Foundation want from us?" Or, "How can we make our research proposals so attractive that we

will get funds other institutions won't get?"*

In short, without stretching the analogy, there is considerable concern with a form of market activity, "product differentiation." Recently, for example, one of the economic teams visited a neighboring research group financed by the same Foundation and working on the same country. To be sure, the explicit purpose was to coordinate activities in the field. The hidden agenda was to look over the "competitor," to insure the marketing of a unique and more appealing product. It might be said that the Communications program is protected from the sheer forces of the market (at least for four years), while the Development program was in a more vulnerable position, a more competitive position.

In industrial research laboratories it is clear that firms with huge research budgets and some modicum of protection from the market, have an opportunity to offer their scientists more freedom and hence more opportunities for "pure" research. (5). The same is true within the academic milieu. The Development program had to be more concerned with pleasing a sponsor than the Communications program. As one member put it, "Everytime I write a paper, there is a bird on my shoulder crying 'what will the foundation think of this?'" This preoccupation with the foibles and sensitivities of the Foundation mounts steadily from January to May until it becomes an *idée fixe*. Late in May, a good share of a senior staff meeting was spent analyzing recent communications and contacts with the Foundation to see whether any hints were dropped indicating their financial predilection. (Economists, in effect, were working in one field of applied psychology.)

* The past tense is stressed deliberately in this section. The Directors and officers of the Hub, fully aware of the problems of tenuous and short term financing, submitted a research proposal emphasizing the need for more permanent footing. In May a five year grant was issued by the Foundation.

The method of financing research has serious implications for the research organization. If the market structure of a particular project is insecure and tenuous (i.e. the Development projects formerly financed on an uncertain year-to-year basis), the individual researcher faces a peculiar type of role conflict; duty as a scientist *qua* scientist and the demands of the market (Foundation). Putting it differently, he is in conflict between organizational demands and his own professional demands. At the Hub this role conflict is reflected in the following ways: (a) There was more freedom and scope for the staff member in the Communications program than in the Development projects; (b) Less time was spent writing up research proposals and progress reports in the Communications program than in the Development program. In general this concern with the Foundation adds a third audience to the professional social scientist. No longer is the criterion of an "Inward Calling," as Weber described it, sufficient for the successful researcher. Besides pleasing himself and his colleagues, he also has to please the Foundation. (In reality the Foundation did not exert pressure on the substantive efforts of the Hub. Objective reality, however, sometimes has little to do with people's beliefs and opinions. Data collected since this paper was first written throw new light on this section. Individuals most concerned with Foundation pressure also complained that they were not given enough direction and guidance from above. It may be that in social research, where uncertainty and the unknown are daily companions, where physical and social comparisons are ambiguous, and where authority is not definite, individuals will project unreal and unstable fantasies on some inkblot, in this case the Foundation. (6).

THE NEW SOCIAL SCIENTIST: FROM TIMIDITY TO TEMERITY

In order to cope with a complex myriad of problems, organizational demands, and difficult research tasks, the

Hub social scientist has to emulate—to some extent—the businessman. The usual image of the academician conjures up an absent-minded "longhair" scarcely aware of the outside world, a timid and bespectacled ectomorph. Nothing could be less true for the Hub research worker. He is intensely interested in, and an active part, of the world. He opens the day with a thorough reading of the New York Times, and then launches into a full schedule of personal contacts. His main research concerns foreign lands in delicate balance *vis-a-vis* the United States and with functioning organizations of all kinds; e.g. government bureaus, factories, newspapers, etc. He has to interview subjects and "establish rapport." He cannot engage in successful research operation in the pristine isolation of his chambers. Indeed, he cannot even embark upon research on delicate problems unless he favorably impresses a United Nations delegate over cocktails at the Secretariat lounge. Diplomatic tact, charm, and the arts of persuasion become part of his normal accoutrements and form his new methodology.

Over thirty per cent of his day is spent in administrative tasks such as interviewing personnel; attending staff meetings and seminars; preparing speeches; consulting; meeting with important experts in his field and from the country under study, and with foreign visitors; and corresponding with colleagues, sponsors, and users of research. Much time is spent preparing research proposals for the Foundation. Here the research man has to balance budgets, predict whether or not Country X will be under one or another party influence at a certain time, choose personnel, and come up with a financial request. (Inasmuch as this year has been marked by a disproportionate amount of time and effort spent on long-range planning, a distorted view may be presented. Under the present context of the five year grant, Hub personnel expect that these pressures are evanescent. Indeed during the next few

years, most of the projects will be in the field.)

This large scale approach to social science research has created a new type of academic contribution. In many seminars one or two members will play the "big operator." They will say, "Now I know where we can get two people working on that and it won't cost us a penny. They're working on a problem similar to ours for X Foundation, and they'd be happy to do that for us if we asked a couple of questions on our questionnaire for them." Or "See X when you go to New York . . . He's interested in our stuff and perhaps can get a grant for us." Thus, the "big operator" attains status and makes a contribution on a non-theoretical, but nevertheless, important academic level.

The new social scientist is a busy and devoted man. A distinguished social scientist reported that he scarcely had time to read the daily newspaper. His current research entails telephoning people for appointments, interviewing subjects, and travelling. A recent dream indicated the exhausting nature of his work, "I dreamed I was in a 'phone booth dialing numbers feverishly. Suddenly, the 'phone rings —very weakly. A scarcely understandable voice tells me that it is the Hub. They wanted to know where I am. I told them I didn't know. 'Are you in Washington?', they wanted to know. I told them to hold the line and I'd look outside and see. Then a storm passed overhead and I awoke."

ROLE CONFLICT AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCE ORGANIZATION

The customary role conflict facing the professional academician concerns balancing time among these three roles: advancing knowledge as a scientist; diffusing knowledge as a teacher; and applying knowledge as an operator or administrator. (8) The professional intellectual is forced to teach in order to do research and consult. As an AAUP Committee put it, "It is idle to profess any special solicitude for the good teacher when exist-

ing conditions are such that a man's success in research is everywhere regarded as a matter of course, while teaching is not." (9) The usual complaint in educational institutions is that teaching becomes subordinated to research.

The reverse of this problem has arisen in the Hub. Partly because of the distinguished nature of the Economics Department, many researchers desire faculty appointments in order to become a part of this attractive group. Also, the research appointment is not a permanent rank and does not contain any promise of tenure consideration. The insecurity, stemming from the yearly financial crises, increases this striving to the less remunerative, but more stable part of the university. In effect, the Economics Department is the reference group for the Hub researchers. In order to placate this need for legitimization of a faculty rank, the Hub conferred the rank of Visiting Professor on all project directors and senior researchers. The rank is temporary and honorary, but has the virtue of being useful when the academician is looking for a job. This raises interesting problems for the research organization. Traditionally in our culture academic man has been associated with a university. Many large universities today have two types of appointments, an academic or faculty appointment, and a research or non-teaching appointment. There is no substitute, however, for a professorial rank. If the Hub were a separate administrative and geographical organization, perhaps the problem of integrating research into the university social structure would not be important. However, working in a milieu where belonging to the university itself is an important goal, the problem of integrating the research and teaching functions is significant.

CONCLUSIONS

We have seen in the past twenty-five years the growth of a new phenomenon, social science research groups. This has in turn created a new role for

the man of knowledge, one which demands both an intellectual competence as well as interpersonal skill. For this reason it is important to examine intellectual organizations in order to learn the most successful way to coordinate creativity and programmatic research. Also the problem of integrating the research worker into the normal academic milieu poses problems for the university as well as the scientist. (His work for example requires him to spend far more than the sabbatical allowance in distant lands.) We may have to consider for the social scientist a role which has been a tradition in physical science laboratories for many years: a research man. This role, which differs from the usual concept of academic man, may include a tenure appointment, but no regular university duties. Perhaps in this way the social scientist researcher will be able to perform the gigantic task at hand.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Industrial Conflict. Edited by Arthur Kornhauser, Robert Dubin, and Arthur M. Ross. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954 xi, 551 pp. \$6.00.

This volume is by far the most important and nearly definitive statement of where we stand today in our study of industrial conflict. While all of its contributed papers are almost uniformly well written, there are some which, either by virtue of their systematic analysis of empirical data or their trenchant exploration of critical issues, seem especially noteworthy. Among these are Clark Kerr's and Abraham Siegel's data-centered effort to propose a parsimonious explanation of the varying strike propensity of different industries; Daniel Katz's summation of research dealing with satisfaction and deprivations in industrial life; Arthur Ross's analysis of the natural history of the strike; Reinhard Bendix's frequently ingenious macroscopic analysis of industrial bureaucratization; Robert Dubin's reasoned statement of the functional contributions of industrial Conflict; George Homans' "think piece" which provocatively inquires into the extent that changes in the politico-economic system would yield gainful changes in the worker's plant life. This last article could be profitably read in conjunction with T. E. Chester's admirably balanced piece on industrial conflicts in British nationalized industries.

Despite the fact that this volume was prepared in a period of prosperity which had few dramatic labor conflicts, the authors and editors have, for the most part, eschewed a pollyanna-ish perspective which later shifts in the economy or in the intensity of industrial conflict could only make embarrassing. Indeed, the volume is distinguished by its repeated insistence that industrial conflict has its functional as well as its dysfunctional sides.

Though not intended to be a definitive codification, the editors summarize the functions of organized industrial conflict as follows: it makes explicit the grounds which separate the groups in question; it brings issues out into the open where they are amenable to the pressures of public opinion and subject to social control; it forces the rapid resolution of the conflict; and, finally, it serves to stabilize the social structure by clarifying the identity of the power-holding groups at strategic points in the society. These seem to be ways in which industrial conflict is functional to the society as a whole; one wishes that this inventory had been extended to consider the differential functions of industrial conflict for the contending parties.

Despite this volume's high level of attainment and, indeed, because of it, we are able to see quite clearly some of the inadequacies of current work in industrial conflict. One of the major defects appears to be an increasing emphasis on the ethnographic collection of theoretically undigested details. Specialists in industrial relations have come to know a great deal about the history of specific unions and companies, their leaders and factional tensions. This is, of course, extremely valuable for those working in industrial relations as an applied discipline, but such details are not all equally central for those trying to develop a systematic theory of industrial conflict.

The ethnographic impulse of modern industrial relations seems reflected in the volume's allocation of space. Only about four of the forty chapters are directly and systematically concerned with developing an analysis of the roots of industrial conflict, even though the arrangement of book sections and chapters might suggest that there are more. While it seems fairly obvious that the heart of a book on industrial conflict should be a head-on analysis of its "causes" there is, nonetheless, little in the way of a full-scale overview of this problem. While there are some historical and time-oriented statistical analyses of strikes, as well as of their differential inter-industry propensity, there is no article which synthetically analyzes a number of individual strikes. It is clear that the micro-analysis of strikes has hardly begun.

Despite the editors' aim of producing a "genuinely interdisciplinary" volume, this, like so many other interdisciplinary efforts, is attained more on what might be called an "editorial level" than on a scientific basis. The connections between the chapters dealing with the economic and social conditions are undeveloped and, in turn, they are but little integrated with those chapters dealing with the motivational or psychological conditions of strikes. Again, this is no criticism of the editors, whose performance throughout is excellent, for they cannot be expected to accomplish what the whole team of workers in industrial relations has so far failed to produce. The significance of this new book, then, is that it compactly brings together much of what we know about industrial conflict, presenting it clearly and incisively, and thus sensitizes us to both the past accomplishments and the continuing needs in this area of research and theory.

ALVIN W. GOULDNER

University of Illinois

Towards an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency. By Bernard Lander. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. xv, 143 pp.

The Juvenile in Delinquent Society. By Milton L. Barron. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954. xii, 349, vii pp. \$5.00

During a particularly frenetic period when we are constantly being exposed to "excursions and alarms" concerning particularized causes of delinquency and when the delinquency problem provides a Roman holiday for editorial writers and politicians alike, it is heartening to encounter such a sober, forthright, and painstaking analysis of the problem as Dr. Lander's study provides. Very few fields more than delinquency are so exposed to the "winds of doctrine" and the cultish fads of extremists. We read, on the one hand, that all delinquents are motivated by deep-seated feelings of anxiety while, on the other, that comic books, TV programs and more recently, "reading deficiencies" are primarily responsible for our current wave of youthful disorder. To many of these extreme and ridiculous claims, such conscientious studies as represented by Dr. Lander's effort are not only a wholesome antidote but essential, if we are to learn anything fundamental about this pressing problem. For Dr. Lander operates upon the sound conviction, unfortunately held in disrepute in certain contemporary academic circles, that sociological theories, as valid as they may have been in their day, must—continually be exposed to constant revision, reevaluation, and reassessment in the light of our growing knowledge and new data.

Recognizing that there are no single causes to this complex problem, Dr. Lander takes as his special task the critical re-evaluation of the Burgess-Shaw concentric-zonal and gradient hypothesis of city growth and delinquent patterning in the light of recent evidence and within the confines of a special urban area. Specifically, the author surveys the variable rates of delinquency within the city of Baltimore for the period 1939-42 based upon 1940 census tracts, and including a sampled population of 8,464 delinquents. At the very outset of his study, he delineates with praiseworthy precision and clarity those specific phases of the problem he undertakes to analyze. What is particularly commendable is the unencumbered and straightforward manner in which he employs zero-order correlations of the multiple and partial types, and the supplementary reinforcement of his position by an ingenious use of factor analysis. The reader will find no devious statistical "gimmicks" here to confound the innocent bystander and to obscure the rational understanding of the researcher and the critical expert. The inferences are clearly and sharply drawn, and incisively limited to the framework of the statistical procedures employed.

The chief defect of this limited but commendable study, it appears to the reviewer, is the author's attempt to establish *anomie* as an independent and residual variable in the ecological process producing delinquency. Although he cautions at Burgess' previous assumption of the process of *disorganization* as the underlying variable in the earlier ecological studies of the Chicago school, his use of the concept of *anomie* (which, incidentally, may very well be the crucial factor) is not inferentially supported in the kind of data he has supplied. There is, however, one notable exception in his demonstration of the relationship of delinquency to districts of racial heterogeneity. Here his data, revealing the highest rates of delinquency being found in racially heterogeneous districts, as compared to districts with low and high Negro concentrations, are revealing and challenging.

This type of study should suggest to all of us that the significant answers to be sought in the complex causal process leading to delinquency must come from motivational analyses and studies in socialization. The road in this direction is already being taken by many contemporary students, among whom we would enumerate Albert J. Reiss, Lester Hewitt, Richard Jenkins, Albert K. Cohen, and Allison Davis, just to mention a few. Dr. Lander's own significant conclusion to his study reaffirms the conviction made many years ago by Dr. Bernard Glueck that a statistical factor is not a cause until and unless it becomes a motive.

To the purist, some exception may be taken to the provocative title used by Professor Barron in his stimulating short text on delinquency. Although this may or may not put him on the side of the "angels", the reviewer must candidly admit that he is solidly in Professor Barron's camp in this argument. As Lawrence Frank some years ago in his *Society is the Patient*, Professor Barron has attempted to focus the attention of the reader and student upon the basic social dislocations which, among other potential forms of deviation and dysfunction, uniquely produce a characteristic form of American delinquency. It appears that this is sound both sociologically and pragmatically. This emphasis is best highlighted in the author's chapter on the delinquent culture of American society (Chapter 12), which appears to state a general theoretical position within which some of our more refined theoretical conceptions (such as Albert Cohen's theory of a delinquent subculture) might very well find a congenial place.

The work itself is brief and, on the whole, lucidly written. Of the three portions into which the book is divided, *Dimensions of Delinquency*, *The Etiology of Delinquency*, and *Societal Reactions to Delinquency*, the section on causation appears to be the best. The principal defect here is

the author's unwillingness to integrate the diverse researchers he analyzes into a coherent view which may be related to his effective chapter on the delinquent culture. This is a minor criticism, however, and need not concern us unduly at this point. College teachers, however, in this day when a hue and cry is being raised concerning what we can *do* about delinquency may very well object to the limited treatment afforded to the several institutional and control procedures of the courts, legal machinery, private and public agencies. Nevertheless, most instructors will find this a sound and substantial book to which to expose their students despite its brevity.

HERBERT A. BLOCH

Brooklyn College

Foreign Policy Analysis. By Feliks Gross. With an introduction by Adolf A. Berle Jr. New York: Philosophical Library. 1954 xxiv, 179 pp. \$3.75.

According to the introduction, Professor Gross in this work "makes the axis of his analysis 'ideology', on the ground that foreign policy is a social process and that social processes are dominated by ideology". The reader should be put on warning, however, that if he uses the term ideology in its commonly used sense he will expect from the work something quite different from that which he finds there. Gross actually treats the objectives of policy as being almost synonymous with ideology, and this set of ends in view is given no more than equal place with other elements which he categorizes as factors (economic, geographic, technological, etc.) and policies, or actual courses of action. Policy dictates action within the limits which are set by factors.

The objectives of policy may be inferred from observation of actions taken, and these should be used as evidence in place of dogma or axiom as to human nature, or some concept as to the necessary course which will be taken by all states. He places emphasis upon human value as an outgrowth of human experience. Economic value is only one kind of value, and efforts to anticipate the future policies of states by resort to some kind of economic determinism must therefore fail. The interplay of value with other elements of the situation in a "functional-interactional" relationship account for policy, and only by using methods which reveal this interplay can we hope to anticipate that policy. Foreign policy is one aspect of governmental policy. It cannot be understood apart from its relationship to domestic politics. But the policies or policies pursued in a limited situation must not be confused with "Policy" as defined above. Other terms to be used must also be carefully defined so that semantic difficulties will not prevent effective treatment of the phenomena which words are meant to stand for. "The study of factors and policies lends itself better to empirical method than do ideology and objectives". But it is, nevertheless, possible to study

ideology scientifically by using methods such as those which anthropologists have devised to analyze and characterize culture. Gross gives a sketch of the kind of analysis he thinks would be fruitful for the revelation of the basic nature of a particular ideology. As an example of ideological influence on foreign policy he treats of the concept of "National Interest" as a doctrine influencing the Policy of the United States in the past. His treatment of "factors" makes use of the material already available through other sciences, such as demography.

Gross has attempted to provide an argument for the use of scientific method in analyzing the Foreign Policy of others and as a guide to the adoption of a sounder Policy for ourselves. It is difficult to evaluate his contribution. Much of what he offers will undoubtedly be regarded as "old stuff" to the specialists in the various fields which he draws upon. On the other hand, there are undoubtedly a great many people who are called upon for one reason or another to analyze Foreign Policy who do not know of the existence of some types of analysis, the results of which are here presented. If we assume that the book is addressed to the intelligent layman, the arguments presented are sound, well reasoned and probably convincing. To those who have been attempting to devise means to get at some of the evidence that Gross thinks we can rely upon, and who know of the pitfalls to be found along the way, his faith in scientific method, as it presently exists, may appear a little naive. Gross has, however, conducted a number of seminars attended by a number of specialists, in which, making use of Pasovsky's "Problem Approach", he has tried out some of these ideas. It may be that we already know enough to avoid the worst errors which might come from use of other available methods, and on that basis we can justify an effort to use methods the faults of which are too apparent to us who are familiar with them. A peculiar oversight of the proof-reader is repeated reference to Professor Notestein as "Notenstein".

W. F. COTTRELL

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio
Prison, Probation and Parole. By Paul W. Keve, Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1954. 257 pp. \$3.75.

Mid-Century Crime in Our Culture. By Austin L. Porterfield and Robert H. Talbert. Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1954. 113 pp. \$2.25.

Mr. Keve's report is one of the most fascinating books on the subject of probation and parole that has ever been written. The author presents an intelligent analysis of the work of the probation and parole officer in terms the layman can understand. (The book is singularly devoid of case-work jargonese.) He also presents some thirty odd cases of persons who came under investigation and supervision. For some there was little hope, for others a satisfactory adjustment was worked out, although

sometimes the human aspects of the situation seemed insoluble. Even so, Mr. Keve makes it plain that probation and parole work "humanize justice", and that probationers and parolees, like the rest of us, are "partly good", "partly bad".

The high literary quality of the book makes it especially appealing. Many of the case-studies are worthy of a place in the best short stories of the year and deal with such characters as the psychotic mother who killed her small children, the embezzler, the bigamist who "had a way" with gullible women, children from good families who suddenly landed in trouble, the sex problems of the middle aged, the abortionist who helped women out of trouble, and numerous others. Schools of social work should use this book to recruit students; county attorneys should read it to offset their legalistic approach to crime; and judges in search of humility should read it before using severe sentences.

Porterfield and Talbert's volume is a compilation of revised articles and papers published for the most part in professional journals. All these would have profited from more careful editing and the use of more precise techniques. Even so they make available certain valuable data. The first three chapters form a loosely organized series of discussions on criminological theory. Chapters IV, V, and VI present rather simple statistical analyses of data derived from the *Uniform Crime Reports*, issued by the F. B. I., which are correlated with census data on population. The conclusions from these data represent what might be called a multiphasic cultural theory of crime. Criminality is held to be "a set of destructively aggressive attitudes and responses toward group members and group values taken as integrated aspects of social institutions". (p. 42) Cultural definitions of crime are shown to vary in different sections of the country and these definitions are applied with varying degrees of rigidity in different racial and status groups.

In support of their theories the authors present their various studies, including an analysis of the correlation between indices of secularization, depressed folk, and related indices with suicide, homicide, and six serious crime rates in the United States as given in the *Uniform Crime Reports*. They found a high positive correlation between "depressed folk" and homicide, and a significant negative correlation between "depressed folk" and suicide. Secularization indices, on the other hand, had a high positive correlation with suicide and a relatively high negative correlation with murder.

A study of Fort Worth Census tracts showed marked variance, however, in the suicide and homicide distribution. Some tracts in that city had high suicide and low crime rates, some had high rates for both, and some had low rates for both.

In only 21 of the total 40 census tracts comprising Fort Worth was there a correlation of high suicide rate and a low crime rate or a high crime rate and a low suicide rate. Some other explanation than social status was therefore necessary for 19 tracts, and the authors present the hypothesis that murder in particular is related to personal factors, whereas suicide is apparently related to both *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. No explanations are given as to reasons for unexpectedly high rates for other crimes.

A comparison of the crime rates in 43 Southern cities matched with 43 non-Southern cities of comparable size is presented in Chapter VI. It indicates a much higher crime rate for the Southern cities. This, the authors think, may be explained, culturally, by greater conflict within the population groups in the South.

The final chapter takes a different lead and makes a plea for understanding the parents of delinquents. They have failed to bring up their children properly because they were victims of cultural influences themselves. This latter chapter should be required reading for magazine editors, county attorneys, and judges who wish to blame the parents instead of recognizing that such parents need help just as much as their children.

MABEL A. ELLIOTT

Pennsylvania College for Women

In the Workshop of the Revolution. By I. N. Steinberg. New York: Rinehart & Company 1933. xii, 306 pp. \$4.00.

Dr. Steinberg's book is of interest to students in several fields. Historians, political scientists, as well as sociologists will find it not only stimulating, but also challenging. A historian of the Russian Revolution will be interested in the uniqueness of this period, and especially find of great interest the initial moment of the February Revolution. A political scientist will be interested in the position of the Left Social Revolutionaries, which the author is trying to defend. The Left Social Revolutionaries entered into a political alliance with the Bolshevik Party in the critical period from February to October. This cooperation ended with the victory of the Bolsheviks, with the result that the Left Social Revolutionaries were driven underground and into exile and a good many of them were executed or perished in Bolshevik jails.

According to the author, this cooperation indicated that a political alliance with a totalitarian movement is utterly impossible and that it leads to the destruction of the democratic party. It is difficult to defend the political wisdom of such an alliance; it can be defended only as one of the first experiences of this type, and one wonders why so many did not learn enough from the Left Social Revolutionaries' experiences.

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A sociologist will find of great interest the problems produced by the reign of terror. Here Dr. Steinberg presents many details of the initial stage of the terror which was introduced and he gives us an insight into the way terror works. A student of social control through terror will find in his account important information, as this area of social control has not yet been adequately studied. Dr. Steinberg makes here a real contribution.

For a political sociologist and student of politics in general the author's discussion of the five types of Russian revolutionaries will be of interest. Dr. Steinberg discusses the following types: 1. Rebel for Himself; 2. The Scientific Revolutionist; 3. The Esthetic Revolutionist; 4. Revolutionist by Compassion; and 5. Revolutionist by Love.

A tragic, but humanitarian, ideal is encountered by the reader throughout the volume. The Russian revolutionaries were perfectionists. What they were trying to do was to build a perfect state. They were not satisfied with a meliorative goal; what they were after was a perfect society. Here was a social vision which could not be achieved and which served, eventually, in a distorted form, a totalitarian movement in its reaching out for power. It seems to this reviewer that two values of Russian revolutionaries can be traced; perfectionism and self-sacrifice. The latter is a value strongly pronounced in Russian culture, but the tragic efforts and self-sacrifice of humanitarian and democratic revolutionaries represented by Steinberg, did not win. In Anglo-American culture the goals of reform movements tend to be meliorative rather than perfectionist. This difference in values helps us perhaps in our effort at understanding the history of Russian political movements. Dr. Steinberg himself is a humanitarian. His ideology was the ideology of the Social Revolutionary Party, a democratic party which is based, above all, on ethical premises. It is not only the tragedy of Russia, but the tragedy of the world as a whole, that in the critical period between February and October 1917 it was not the Russian democrats and the Russian humanitarians who took over political power in Russia. Courageously Dr. Steinberg fought Lenin's terror, faithful to his principles. He was imprisoned and fortunately escaped to continue his efforts in this country.

FELIKS GROSS

Brooklyn College and New York University

Morals and Medicine. By Joseph Fletcher. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954. 225 pp. \$4.50.

The author of this book is Professor of Pastoral Theology and Christian Ethics at the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Massachusetts. The core of Joseph

Fletcher's philosophy might be described as a belief in mercy and a reverence for personality as opposed to mere physiological life. Personality, rather than soul is the essence of man. He believes that the word "soul" in the Scriptures was used interchangeably with life. Personality is not created directly by God, according to the author, but developed by a process ordained by God. "The whole history of man's moral growth since what Breasted called 'the dawn of conscience' and classical or old-fashioned theologians call (so curiously) 'the Fall', has been our steady march upward in the scale of responsibility from predetermined to self-determined action, from customary to reflective or rational morality." The personality of man has gained in moral stature through knowledge of the means to control nature, and through freedom to make decisions based on this knowledge. Control is the basis of freedom, just as helplessness is the basis of fatalism; without freedom of choice and knowledge "man is a puppet, not a person".

The author denies the right of nature to overrule self-determination, this he calls "biological fatalism" and compares it to primitive animism. Self-determination includes the right of the individual to use his God-given intelligence and knowledge on problems of his own health and life and death. Death one should be able to have administered to one in the case of incurable and painfully disorganizing disease; life one should be able to bestow through the help of artificial insemination, if necessary. When an individual fears it would be unwise to have children, he has the right to "foreclose on parenthood" by means of sterilization. His reasons may be that he believes a serious hereditary disease or mental defect might be inflicted upon his child, that it would be unfair to his family to add the extra expense of another child, or that the health of his wife may be endangered by another pregnancy. In brief, the author recommends sterilization for eugenic, socio-economic, and health reasons. "The prohibiting of these boons of medicine is morally unjustified subversive to human dignity and most serious of all, spiritually oppressive," writes this theologian.

Organized religion, Dr. Fletcher feels, often hinders the development of moral stature by limiting the area of responsible choice. He outlines the history of the conflict between the church and medicine and reminds the reader that medicine owes its very existence to the fact that it defied the legal and ecclesiastical custom in England by stealing corpses for dissection when it was forbidden to get them any other way. The young science of surgery was almost stifled by the Edict of Tours, which forbade the shedding of blood because it was subversive to the doctrine of the bodily resurrection of Christ. The author, in giving the

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Catholic and Fundamentalist objections to contraception, sterilization, and euthanasia, shows that uncritical interpretations of the Bible are being used to limit the effective benefit of medicine. Fletcher maintains that there is no Christian doctrine opposed to sterilization and he is convinced that it is a grave wrong and a betrayal of the Christian conception of personality, as well as against the rational conscience, to allow the stunted and defective lives to be propagated when the means are available in medicine to prevent this.

The author devotes one section of his book to sterilization. In giving the historical background, he mentions that sterilization has been practiced by several religious cults, including the Scopts, a Christian sect in modern Russia. Many readers will be surprised to learn that up until 1884, the Catholic Church castrated the choir boys in the Sistine Chapel in order to preserve their falsetto voices.

The status of the present laws is given: 23 states and Puerto Rico provide for compulsory sterilization after hearings before a board of control, consisting of experts in the field; 3 more states have laws that are voluntary, as well as compulsory, and 2 have laws that are entirely voluntary. The constitutionality of compulsory sterilization laws are based on the decision that Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes handed down in the case where a mentally deficient mother was ordered sterilized by the state: "The principle that sustains compulsory vaccination is broad enough to cover cutting the Fallopian tubes. . . . Three generations of imbeciles are enough."

Some readers will disagree with the conclusions of this pioneer in the field of ethical medicine, but few will fail to appreciate his scholarly application of new moral insights to medicine and its related social problems. The consistency of his arguments is beyond refutation. This book should help the doctor, the clergyman, and the layman to re-evaluate the problems of artificial insemination, contraception, sterilization and euthanasia in the light of deepening insights into the morality of mercy and personal integrity, and encourage them not to reject these reforms as "something new and therefore strange, therefore fearful, therefore wrong." The book should encourage our rather conventional medical profession to assume the leadership in furthering these benefits which promise to improve the moral stature and well-being of the individual and society.

MEDORA S. BASS

Human Betterment Association
of America

The Development of Modern Sociology. By
Roscoe C. Hinkle and Gisela J. Hinkle.
New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954. x,
75 pp. \$0.95.

This monograph in the *Doubleday Short Studies in Sociology* is an excellent discussion of the nature and growth of sociology in the United States. Its purpose, to assist the student in attaining a more integrated understanding of contemporary American sociology, could not have been accomplished more briefly, clearly, and adequately. The Hinkles' panoramic view of the major changes and identifying landmarks of the "American science" over the past half century, with European influences noted only as they have had a demonstrable impact on the American scene, should prove a worthwhile and stimulating teaching instrument, even as it is valuable in itself.

While disclaiming to present a sociology of American sociology, it is not the least of the virtues of the present study that it may be considered as a neat and sound little contribution to just that. For the authors do make it evident that the methods and substance of sociology are not wholly the result of a self-contained development, unaffected by historical trends outside the discipline itself. Their analysis of the course of American sociology through three distinct phases—The Foundation of American Sociology (1905-1918), The Quest to Make Sociology Scientific (1918-1935), Reciprocity of Theory, Research, and Application (1935-1954)—properly takes into account the broader social climate and cultural setting of each era.

Nevertheless, the Hinkles find persistent features in American sociology that have given the field its continuity and interrelatedness. One such feature is its utilitarian orientation. Another, in fact the most noteworthy, they call "voluntaristic nominalism", to denote the assumption made throughout the early, intermediate, and modern periods of American sociology that "the structure of all social groups is the consequence of the aggregate of its separate, component individuals and that social phenomena ultimately derive from the motivations of these knowing, feeling, and willing individuals," and to point out that neither Durkheim's notion of society as an entity *sui generis* nor Marx's interpretation of social stratification in terms of economic relations has been accepted by American sociologists.

One may disagree with the authors' interpretation at times. For example, this reviewer feels that they underestimate the significance for American sociology of Georg Simmel and Karl Mannheim and that their use of the term "individualism" is somewhat misleading. But most readers will find that their study wholly deserves to be commended to every student as a careful, well-documented, and readable account of the development of sociology in America.

JOSEPH MAIER

Rutgers University

Urban Behavior. By E. Gordon Erickson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954. ix, 482 pp. \$4.75.

Another good text on urban sociology is added to the recent crop. Like some of the other writers, E. Gordon Erickson is indebted for his thinking to Louis Wirth who did not give full expression to his abilities in this field through written contributions. E. Gordon Erickson approaches the problem of urban sociology with a question of sociological theory in mind. He makes his students wonder how social control can be maintained in an urbanized society which has moved far away from the structure of a predominantly rural society. This theme is assiduously pursued by the author. In this manner, the book gains focus, and it avoids the short-coming of others which offer the student an old mixture of technological, sociological, and historical facts.

It may seem, at times, that the unified structure of the book is attained at the period of somewhat too far-fetched theorizing and incidental historical facts. Too much room is given to an exposition of select aspects of an Aristotelian logic. The reader is surprised to find here a discussion of "The Law of the Excluded Middle." Nor is he convinced of the necessity of having the "Ideal Type Approach" explained in this connection. The reader, undoubtedly, prefers to find out more about the city.

In this desire the reader is by no means entirely disappointed by the author. He learns about city churches and city schools, about city families and city government. Most interesting of all is the manner in which the author deals with the socio-psychological aspects of the urban way of life. He sees the city as the extreme exponent of a masslike society, posing the question of how consensus can be reached in this heterogeneous environment.

It is not the author's fault that very few materials have been furnished, in recent years, to help us in our understanding of urban personality and urban social relations. We are not made acquainted with much more than the well-known contributions of Park, Wirth, and Georg Simmel. This lack cannot be attributed to an oversight on the part of the author. Recent urban research has, to a large extent, been concerned with the geographical, rather than the social dimension.

The most important practical application of urban sociology is seen in the field of city planning. While we are informed about the possible measures of city planning and the various authorities occupied with it, we are not offered any comprehension of the alternative goals for planning. Thus, a general orderliness in the arrangement of urban land uses stands out as the important objective worth of attainment. Such orderliness, to be sure, can be of many different kinds. It may draw the in-

dustries to the center or to the periphery of the city, it may encourage neighborhood planning or concern itself with the placement of shopping centers. The student is left to his own devices in the discussion of such alternatives in the formulation of planning objectives.

As a whole, this book on urban sociology is focussed on some interesting new viewpoints. Particularly, (1) There are no separate cities; rather, modern society displays a rural-urban continuum, and (2) Urban social organizations differs markedly from that in a folk society; it develops different attributes than life in the country and requires different means for the establishment of consensus.

To be sure, neither of these viewpoints is entirely new, but it must be considered a most original and worth-while enterprise on the part of the author to make these viewpoints the focal points of a useful text on urban sociology. If the author fails in his attempt, it is not his fault. Apart from a few assertions which appear as radical deviations from past presentations of urban sociology, we do not have much empirical material to go on. Under the circumstances, this text on urban sociology vacillates somewhat between new facts and a conventional presentation of materials. Now and then, a theoretical statement will brush aside volumes of past literature as misguided and misguiding. As it comes to a discursive statement of available knowledge, though, we find ourselves confronted with well-worn paths of descriptive elaboration.

No attempt is made to overcome the notion of "ecology" which has followed us around since the days of Robert E. Park when it sharpened our sight to interesting regularities. As it is today, "ecology" is not much more than an altar of sacred tradition at which we make perfunctory obeisance. At least, we find here some shaky and all too general concepts around which we are able to drape otherwise free-flowing empirical materials. We observe the attempt, in E. Gordon Erickson's book, to drive forward to new generalizations in this field. Still, we meet there a contemplation of "concentration" and "dispersion", of "invasion" and "succession". Perhaps, we need to keep these concepts of the past alive to hand them to the younger generation.

It could also be however, that the stagnating pace of contemporary urban sociology has something to do with the fact that it is being replaced in our curricula by such new specializations as "industrial relations", "small group research", etc. The author of this book tries to help in paving a new way; but he seems to lack the courage of his conviction.

SVEND RIEMER

*The University of California,
Los Angeles*

OFFICIAL REPORTS

Notice of the 1955 Annual Meeting

REPORT OF THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE:

The annual meeting will be held in Washington, D. C. at the Shoreham Hotel August 30th through September 2nd. There will be one day of independent sessions on August 30th and joint sessions with the American Sociological Society beginning August 31st.

The following are the August 30th sessions and sessions chairmen:

- (1) *New Slants on Juvenile Delinquency*, H. Ashley Weeks, New York University.
- (2) *Psychotherapy and Social Science*, E. Garty Jaco, University of Texas.
- (3) *Family Factors in Health*, Reuben Hill, University of North Carolina.
- (4) *Desegregation and the Schools*, Preston Valien, Fisk University.
- (5) *Graduate Student Views of the Training of Sociologists*, Jerome H. Skolnick, Yale University and Denez Guy-
eas, Kent State University.

The annual dinner of the Society, scheduled for 6:00 P.M., August 30th, will be followed by the annual business meeting. Joint sessions with the American Sociological Society, each being developed by joint chairmen, will be devoted to the following topics:

- (1) *Problems of Aging*;
- (2) *Political Sociology*;
- (3) *Sociology and Health*;
- (4) *Sociology and Mental Health*.

Dr. Dorothy E. Newman, 3508 Woodbine Ave., Chevy Chase, Md., is chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

Signed:

Guy B. Johnson, Rose Hum Lee, Charles P. Loomis, H. Ashley Weeks, Paul Oren, A. R. Mangus, Chairman

REPORT OF THE EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

W. W. Norton Company has published the Society's first book of readings, *Mental Health and Mental Disorder: A Sociological Approach*, edited by Arnold M. Rose. In recognition of the high quality and wide appeal of this volume, the Basic Book Service has chosen it as its selection for the month of March. During the next few months W. W. Norton Company will publish the Society's second book of readings, *Sexual Behavior in American Society: An Appraisal of the First Two Kinsey Reports*, edited by Jerome Himelhoch and Sylvia Fleis Fava. The committee suggests that SSSP members examine these volumes for possible classroom use in relevant courses and also that they order copies for their libraries.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS, 1954-1955: CORRECTION

The members of the Committee on Liaison with Other Organizations are: Arnold Rose, *Chairman*; Simon Marcson; Dorothy K. Newman; S. S. Sargent; Donald J. Hager; Paul H. Furley; Shirley H. Star; Lloyd Allen Cook; Robert C. Jones; Edgar H. Schuler; Max Wolfe; Henry Meyer; Whitney Young; Ralph Turner; Harvey Locke.



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